

Educ.
23:4

The AMERICAN TEACHER

JANUARY
1939

Welcome Franz Boas

Former President, American Association
for the Advancement of Science

Professor Emeritus, Anthropology, Columbia University

"I have joined the Teachers Union because I believe that the tendencies of our times demand the active cooperation of all who believe in intellectual freedom and the necessity of educating the coming generations to greater intellectual freedom. Our greatest task is to invigorate those who hold that freedom can flourish only in a democracy, so that we may steer a clear course forward, patiently but unhesitatingly."

—FRANZ BOAS

Articles by

JERRY VOORHIS
ELMER A. BENSON
PHILIP F. LA FOLLETTE

MAX SEHAM
LAWRENCE MARTIN
LEON A. RANSOM

WILLIAM E. BULL
NED H. DEARBORN
THOMAS MANN

Reviews by

GEORGE SELDES

EDWIN BERRY BURGUM

I. KEITH TYLER

EDA LOU WALTON

BERYL PARKER

Published by the AMERICAN FEDERATION of TEACHERS

Inside the Cover

ONE OF THE WORST EXAMPLES of labor news distortion in the history of the *New York Times* is described in the January 1 issue of the *Guild Reporter*, organ of the American Newspaper Guild.

In addition to suppressing an NLRB report describing a vigilante attack on June 4, 1937, which took the life of an A. F. of L. striker and seriously injured many others, the *Times* published a story saying that "townspeople" of Newberry, Mich., were "aroused" over the "ridiculous" report. No resident was identified or directly quoted.

The *Times* story referred frequently to "C.I.O. agitators" although until three months after the vigilante raid the strikers were members of Local 2530, Lumber and Sawmill Workers, A. F. of L. There was no reference in the *Times* story to the 200 vigilantes, who, armed with clubs, iron bars, and other weapons, set upon the peaceful strikers. Yet the scene was vividly described in the NLRB report.

The *Guild Reporter* submitted its story of the *Times*'s distortion to the managing editor of the *Times* in advance of publication and asked for a statement. None was made. The newspapermen's journal concludes:

"The *Times* story, published in place of the revelations of the sworn testimony, is, if it is believed, well calculated to allay the public horror that would arise if the facts in the NLRB report became known. If this is the case, the story would fit in with the press tactics of the European Fascist countries, where organized gangs do their jobs and the incidents are dressed up to sound spontaneous and acceptable to the public."

* * *

MEMBERS OF THE A. F. OF T. and workers generally will be interested in a remarkable report issued recently by the National Bureau of Economic Research, not a New Deal agency, but an investigation bureau supported by universities and foundations. This bureau found the following three main facts about the world in which we live:

1. Productive efficiency increased so rapidly during the depression that it took only 336,000,000 "man-hours" of work to produce in 1935 the "volume of goods" which required 427,000,000 man-hours in 1929. In other words, four men produced what five

produced before, and the fifth man lost his job.

2. If the workers had received the benefit of this increased efficiency, their pay would have been boosted 20 to 25 per cent. This added purchasing power, the report says, "would have meant a substantial gain in the national standard of living."

3. The 8,839,000 workers in the manufacturing industries in 1929 worked an average of 48.3 hours a week. In 1935, they could have produced as much by working only 38 hours a week, a reduction of 10.3 hours, or 21 per cent.

* * *

ORGANIZED LABOR has lost one of its best friends with the death of Paul Y. Anderson, dean of Washington newspaper correspondents.

Speakers at his funeral included Senator George Norris and John L. Lewis, head of the Congress for Industrial Organization. Anderson was correspondent for the *St. Louis Star-Times* and prior to that for many years represented the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*.

Anderson's graphic description of the Paramount news-reel pictures of the Chicago Memorial Day massacre at the Republic Steel plant, was one of the greatest "scoops" of newspaper history, since most of the newspapers of the country, notably those in Chicago, suppressed and distorted actual facts in the riot. His recent radio speech against Martin L. Dies, charging him with attempting to destroy liberal organizations in the country, was widely quoted.

* * *

SIXTY-NINE ECONOMISTS and government officials recently joined the vigorous opposition of organized labor to any cut in federal expenditures for relief work.

In a letter to President Roosevelt these economists said any cut in W.P.A. expenditures at the present time would be dangerous.

"Such a policy would involve throwing some million breadwinners and their families into destitution during the severe winter weather," they said. "It would involve a reduction of more than \$50,000,000 a month in direct wage payments in addition to some \$30,000,000 in related expenditures."

"Such a cut in consumer purchasing power would, we believe, constitute a severe threat to the continuation of the present economic recovery, and might even cause a serious setback in business."

Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board M. S. Eccles in a blistering letter to Senator Byrd of Virginia, who has attacked work relief, said, "I do not think that empty stomachs build character." He said further:

"We cannot expect to preserve our free

institutions in this country if we condemn a substantial proportion of our people to prolonged idleness on a bare subsistence level of existence."

* * *

FOURTEEN STUDENT WAITERS at the University of Texas made local history in Austin when they called a strike at a campus cafeteria, Mrs. Lindley's Dining Room.

The strikers were led by Roger Jackson, organizer and chairman of the Student Waiters Council, a local organization. Their complaint included charges that they were being worked for 12½ cents an hour. Mrs. Lindley precipitated the strike, they said, by insisting that they work two hours in return for one meal and pay \$10.00 a month for the other.

* * *

ACCORDING TO A RECENT REPORT by the Federal Communications Commission, every time you drop a nickel in a Bell telephone slot or pay your bill to the telephone trust, you are paying one-fourth more than necessary. The report states that "a reduction of approximately 25 per cent may be made in telephone



rates throughout the entire Bell system without interrupting earnings."

The investigation, which took over a year and cost \$1,500,000, charges the following:

1. At present the trust controls approximately 80 per cent of the total telephone stations, 95 per cent of the total wire mileage, 98 per cent of the toll lines, and 94 per cent of the telephone manufacturing business. The Bell system's policy since its beginning has been directed toward a nation-wide, unified control of the telephone field.

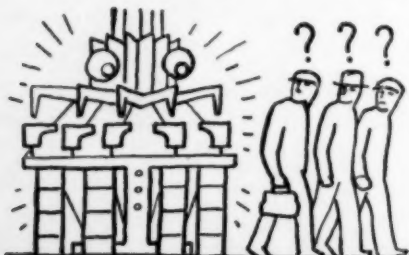
2. Research activities have been directed towards the attainment of influence and control in adjacent industries by patent control in order to protect the telephone monopoly from emerging forms of communication. The costs of protection from competition have been charged to telephone subscribers rather than to stockholders who are benefited.

3. Through standardization in plant and operating methods the Bell system has suppressed invention, failed to replace outmoded equipment with superior types capable of rendering more efficient and less expensive telephone service, and has made costly mistakes in judgment.

4. Tricky accounting practices regarding depreciation were used.

5. The telephone company buys equipment from Western Electric, a wholly owned subsidiary, and prices bear no relation to actual or alleged costs.

G. T. G.



The AMERICAN TEACHER

Published by The American Federation of Teachers

VOLUME XXIII

JANUARY, 1939

NUMBER 4

IN THIS ISSUE

- The Next Step for the Progressives.....
 *Jerry Voorhis, Elmer A. Benson, Philip F. La Follette* 6
 The New Role of the Teacher.....*Max Seham* 9
 Dare Teachers Change the Press?.....*Lawrence Martin* 11
 Court Upholds Lloyd Gaines.....*Leon A. Ransom* 14
 Madison's Policy Committee Reports.....*William E. Bull* 17
 Tenax Propositi.....*Ned H. Dearborn* 20
 The Trouble with Democracy.....*Thomas Mann* 22
 Committee Reports.....*Mary Foley Grossman* 32

DEPARTMENTS

- Inside the Cover.....*G. T. G.* 2
 Editorial Paragraphs 3
 The President's Page, Health Education and the Teacher..... 5
 Among the New Books:
 I Broadcast the Crisis, and The Truth about Munich.....
 *George Seldes* 23
 Let Freedom Ring!.....*I. Keith Tyler* 24
 Residential Quarter.....*Edwin Berry Burgum* 25
 Man's Hope.....*Eda Lou Walton* 25
 Centerville*Beryl Parker* 26
 The Teachers Union in Action..... 27
 On the Labor Front..... 29
 The Contributors 31

Drawings by Chandler Montgomery

THE AMERICAN TEACHER

GEORGE T. GUERNSEY, Editor

ENTERED as second class matter January 3, 1939, at the post office at Chicago, Illinois, under the act of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of February 28, 1925, authorized November 3, 1926.

SUBSCRIPTION: \$2.50 for the year—Foreign \$2.60—Single copies, 35c. Published monthly except June, July and August, at 506 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill. Subscribers are requested to give prompt notice of changes of address. Remittances should be made in postal or express money orders, draft, stamps, or check.



AT LONG LAST Tom Mooney is free, pardoned after twenty-two and one-half years in prison by the newly-elected governor of California whose election was made possible by the support of all branches of organized labor. Present reports indicate that Mooney intends to spend the rest of his life—he is now 56—fighting for a unified labor movement and for the freeing of Warren K. Billings.

As one of his first acts after being released from prison, Mooney divided the \$10.00 given to him by the government between the Retail Department Store Employees, A. F. of L., who have been picketing the Kress and Newberry stores in San Francisco since last August, and the American Newspaper Guild, C.I.O., to aid it in its strike against the two Hearst papers in Chicago.

The victory of Tom Mooney should give heart to all those who have worked incessantly for his freedom, and it should be a special object lesson to the members of the American

Federation of Teachers in their fight for those teachers who have not hesitated to speak freely and courageously when the interests of American children were threatened. For we still have our cases of academic freedom—Dr. Jerome Davis, Professor Keeney, whose case is now before the Supreme Court of Montana, the Flint teachers, and all those “Tom Mooneys” of American education who have been framed by the vested interests of our society.



★ ★ ★

THE TRUTH OF THE CHARGES which Secretary of the Interior Ickes made against the American press on “Town Hall of the Air” recently is reaffirmed by the experiences of the American Federation of Teachers. The December issue of the *Cleveland Teacher*, published by Local 279, charges that “Cleveland Daily Papers Close Columns to Friends of Public Schools” and that sections of letters from members of Cleveland’s labor Board of Education are deleted. Recently an officer of Local 557, Kenosha, Wis., submitted a statement to the local press which, when it appeared in print, was twisted to say almost the exact opposite of what it originally had said. Fortunately for the Kenosha Union, the weekly *Kenosha Labor* has a circulation of more than 10,000 and the Union is provided with a method of reaching the people of the town.

Other Unions are not so fortunate. In the recent publicity about the resignations from the New York Teachers Union, some of which happened nine months ago, the Unions of New York City and elsewhere were largely at the mercy of whatever interpretation newspapers wished to give. For instance, although wide publicity was given to an alleged threatened resignation by George S. Counts, little or no publicity was given to a later letter by Counts in which he said: “For many years I have held, and I hold today, that teachers should establish the closest relationship with organized workers. If democracy is to be defended in these days, it will be defended, not by any privileged groups, but by powerful organizations of working people of all ranks and occupations. I am not intending to leave either the New York College Teachers Union or the American Federation of Teachers.”

In this same situation newspapers decided that statements on the New York controversy from Union member Robert S. Lynd, noted sociologist and author of *Middletown*

and *Middletown in Transition*, and other outstanding educators had no "news" value!

Perhaps Professor Boas, outstanding anthropologist, in joining the Teachers Union, made the best statement on the issues involved when he said: "Nothing seems to me more futile than to complain of the destructive tactics of a minority and to answer by withdrawal. The Democrats do not resign their seats in Congress because the Republicans bore from within. I am willing to discuss matters with extremists from either side. I doubt whether I should succeed in finding common ground with anyone who does not have as his goal freedom for the whole human race. But I am willing to try. Extremists become troublesome as soon as they are held up as dangerous enemies and when the groups that are not fanatic refuse to recognize the freedom of thought for others that they claim for themselves and exhibit their usual indolence and indifference."

All members of the American Federation of Teachers realize that the attacks upon American education and American democracy require that we have the strongest possible Union. Encouraging in this respect is the report of the New York College Teachers Union that it now has 990 paid-up members, a new all-time high for Local 537, and that its December Conference on Higher Education, at which Ordway Tead, chairman of the Board of Higher Education of New York, and Harold J. Laski spoke, was attended by approximately 1000 teachers.

Professor Robert K. Speer of New York University has pointed out that charges against the Union appear to have grown out of an article, "The Twilight at Teachers College," which was published in the *Nation*, rather than out of definite charges against the Teachers Union. We can all say with Professor Speer, "Come on back, and I will join you in a movement to bring to the Teachers Union an even greater democratization than now exists."

★ ★ ★

NOW THAT THE PROBLEM of adjusting the AMERICAN TEACHER to monthly publication has been completed, we would like to indicate that the A. F. of T. journal will appear upon the fifteenth of each month. This means that all material must be in the office of the AMERICAN TEACHER by the first of each month. No material can be accepted after that date.

During the remainder of the year we are going to publish several issues of a newspaper which will be mailed with the magazine. The next issue of the newspaper will be published in February, and all Locals are urged to send in as much news as possible about the work that they have been doing. We are especially anxious to have the reports of local committee chairmen on the work of the Educational Policies Committees and the Legislative Committees. National committee chairmen are urged to take advantage of the newspaper as a means of publicizing their work. It will be possible for all Locals to order extra copies of the newspaper to distribute to non-Union teachers.

The February issue of the newspaper will present a complete resumé of the actions taken by the Executive Council

at its December meeting. An important action was taken on the matter of taxing state and federal bonds and public-school teachers' salaries. The resolution will be printed in full in the newspaper and an article will appear in the magazine explaining the background of this decision. Locals are requested to delay any action that they might take on this matter until next month so that their action will be in harmony with that taken by the national organization.

★ ★ ★

THE DRIVE FOR FEDERAL AID goes forward. On the back cover you will find a specific suggestion from the National Legislative Committee. If there is united support among all groups favoring Federal Aid, there can be no

doubt but that it will be passed at this session of Congress. We ask you to give the national legislative chairman all the support you can in carrying out our program. We especially urge you to send to her any endorsements which you may get from local officials or organizations.



At its fall meeting, the National Council of Women went on record in favor of Federal Aid "for the purpose of helping to equalize educational opportunities" because there are "more than 2,500,000 children in the country for whom no schools have been provided and another 2,500,000 attending schools that are little better than none." Federal Aid is a required step in securing for all the children, as President Roosevelt put it in his message to our convention, "the kind of schools to which they are entitled."

★ ★ ★

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION of Teachers of German were recently reported in *Time* as having defeated a resolution expressing sympathy for the victims of fanaticism in Germany. If this report is true, it is of far greater importance than its inclusion in a brief footnote would suggest. To American teachers, certainly, it is disheartening news of major import.

It is reasonable to suppose that if teachers of German in the United States do not have the function of conserving German culture in the New World, they have no function at all. Teachers of German should know better than any other group how far the present ruling group in Germany has retreated from the magnificent standards of culture and scientific advance which have been established by scholars, artists, musicians, scientists, and philosophers in earlier and happier days. Members of the N. A. T. G. have much to explain as American citizens in rejecting so mild a resolution; as teachers of German, they deliberately invite the condemnation of their colleagues in the educational profession. It is sincerely to be hoped that the rank and file members will speedily repudiate the leadership which has thus embarrassed a group of conscientious and enthusiastic students of some of the world's finest literary traditions.

The President's Page

HEALTH EDUCATION AND THE TEACHER

LAST DECEMBER a letter received from the national office of the American Federation of Teachers brought this startling news: "One-half the members of our office staff are ill and we are seriously handicapped." We all know from personal experience the costs of ill health but perhaps we do not realize how serious is the problem.

In 1935-36 a national health survey was made which covered three-quarters of a million families in eighty-four cities. Among other things the Federal Government reported that this showed:

1. As far as the poor in our urban areas are concerned, little health progress has been made in the past half century. The gross sickness and death rates are as high now as they were fifty years ago.
2. The lower the income, the higher the sickness and death rate. For unskilled workers the death rate for the ten most deadly diseases is almost twice as high as among professional groups. On the average industrial workers die about eight years sooner than others.
3. In 1936 about a quarter of a million mothers had no doctor during childbirth. The result was that two-thirds of the mothers and one-half of the babies, who might have been saved, died.
4. Each year 70,000,000 persons lost an aggregate of more than 1,000,000 days of work because of illness.
5. Thirty per cent of all those on relief have no doctor's care even when seriously sick.
6. Approximately one-third of the children under fifteen years of age have little or no medical care. Two-thirds of the rural areas have no child-health clinics. In the eighty-four cities studied 28 per cent of all children sick for seven days or more had no doctor's care.

It is obvious that in the face of this appalling situation the teachers of the nation have a tremendous responsibility towards making the nation *health conscious* and training the children how to live so that they may keep well and prevent disease.

For teachers, perhaps one of the best ways to do this is to demonstrate health themselves. We all know that it is foolish to wait until we are sick and then try to medicate our way to health. What we should be doing is to preserve health, to keep well all the time. We all know certain simple rules but we do not always practice them. What are some of the fundamentals?

Most Americans eat about ten times as much of protein foods, such as eggs, meat, fish, and cheese as they really need. Most of us consume too much sugar and starch. On the other hand, we eat far too little of "live foods"—those which are replete with vitamins and life. Probably four-fifths of our daily food should

consist of vegetables, raw salads, and fresh fruit.

Another "must" for the average human animal is exercise. This helps us to eliminate the wastes and poisons of the body. Teachers are apt to neglect adequate exercise, especially if they use automobiles.

Another thing we must avoid is operations. No doubt some are necessary, but many are not. So serious has the menace of unnecessary operations become that Dr. J. J. Golub, director of the Hospital for Joint Diseases of New York City, declares the rate of operations is increasing faster than the population and is a menace. Among the causes for this condition he lists: (1) unethical practice and the lure of larger fees, (2) the urge to operate, (3) haste to operate upon non-emergent conditions, (4) the surgeon's personality trait. To prevent this trend he urges the setting up of "regional consultation boards."

We should also know and help our pupils to understand a health program for the country as a whole. The National Health Conference called by the Roosevelt administration proposes the following steps:

1. Extend the Social Security Act so as to give adequate medical, dental, and hospital service for the forty million people who have incomes of less than \$800 a year. Increase funds for maternal and child care and for wiping out tuberculosis, venereal disease, and malaria.
2. Build hospitals and health centers so as to provide 360,000 additional beds.
3. Provide an adequate system of health insurance for the American people. Most European countries have long had it.
4. Furnish disability insurance to compensate workers for wages lost in illness.

No matter what subject we teach, we should all be interested in health and we can play our part in making the students health-conscious. Even if we are teaching Latin, we can indicate what the Romans did for health and sanitation. If we teach mathematics, we can have the children calculate how much money is lost each year by the American people due to sickness.

Too long American citizens have waited until they became sick and then they have allowed doctors to apply poultices or operate to cure the disease, but to ignore the causes. It is time that we all live up to the old adage that an ounce of *prevention* is worth a pound of cure. There is no better place to begin than in the American Federation of Teachers itself. Every local could well afford to devote at least one meeting each year to the subject of health and health promotion.

JEROME DAVIS

The Next Step for the Progressives

♦ JERRY VOORHIS ELMER A. BENSON PHILIP F. LA FOLLETTE

JERRY VOORHIS

WHAT SHALL BE the next step for the progressives? Shall it be a united front against the spread of Fascism? A strengthening of social security and wages-hours laws? A plan for effective anti-monopoly laws? Shall we push forward the T.V.A. "yardstick" plan? Or shall it be cooperative self-help units for unemployed? While all these objectives are important, no single one seems to strike directly at the central problem of releasing the brakes upon our immense productivity, so that America's farms and factories can produce and sell the abundance we need. What are the forces that are stultifying America's dynamic industrial energies?

The chief hindrance to full productive activity in America is, in my opinion, the use of a clumsy and outmoded bank-credit monetary system. It is a system which provides no adequate means for increasing the supply of circulating medium to match the increase in wealth-producing power of the people.

Congress was given by the Constitution authority to "coin money and regulate the value thereof." We have not done so, except in a very limited way. Instead, we have given over that function to banks, first by the National Bank Act of 1863, then by the Federal Reserve Act of 1913—or more especially by amendments to the Federal Reserve Act. Under the operation of these acts, private banks control the credit of the nation and use that credit to buy United States Government bonds which in turn become the basis for more issues of bank credit money.

It is utterly idiotic for the government to sell its bond to Federal Reserve Banks or member banks for credit entries upon their books. If the bonds of the

♦ At its twenty-second annual convention in Cedar Point, Ohio, the A. F. of T. endorsed and urged the support of all candidates who were seeking election on a progressive platform. In light of the results of the recent elections, the AMERICAN TEACHER has asked a number of outstanding progressives to contribute to a symposium on "The Next Step for the Progressives." In this article we present statements by three well-known leaders in the field of politics.

The symposium will be continued in the next two or three issues, and members of the A. F. of T. are urged to suggest contributors.

T.V.A., the H.O.L.C., or other government corporations are good for the issue of bank credit money, they are good for a direct issue of government money secured by the projects undertaken by that government.

In other words, the United States has a right and duty to set up government corporations to construct dams, housing units or other self-liquidating projects, and to issue money secured by the bonds of those corporations. The rate of interest need be not more than one per cent, merely enough to meet the book-keeping costs, but if it were more than that the income from such interest would be net income to the government and an important factor in balancing the budget.

The best informed economists declare that the American people lack about eight billion dollars a year of buying power, at present levels of prices and wages. Which means either one of two things—that monopolists' prices are eight billions too high, or else the income of potential consumers, chiefly farmers and workers, is eight billions too low.

Therefore every billion dollars of new government money issued for construction of self-liquidating projects will help to correct both those defects. First, it will give needed buying power to the people. Second, to the extent that electricity, housing, or other goods and services are supplied at competitive prices, it will prevent monopoly price fixing.

Obviously such a plan could not be operated safely unless the Federal Government had provided authority to the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System to raise the reserve ratios of member banks to prevent runaway bank credit inflation. For that reason I am convinced that the Binderup Bill—



H.R. 9800—which provides for the acquisition of the twelve central Federal Reserve Banks by the government and the establishment of 100 per cent reserves behind demand deposits should be passed.

★

ELMER A. BENSON

THE MOST IMPORTANT "NEXT STEP" for progressive-minded people is education—for themselves and for others. Why do I say this, and what do I mean by it?

Progressive-minded people are those who realize that human society is a living thing; that where there is life, there must also be growth and development; that it is not possible to keep things *in status quo*; that it is not possible to stand still in the world's history. They realize, also, that in organized human society, the motive-power behind this constant growth and development comes from those groups or sections of people who hold an essential place in the work of the world, and who at the same time are seeking to make alterations in the way that work is being done.

Typical of such groups are workingmen who organize a union to improve their standing in the industrial order; unemployed people who form a special organization to prevent their being squeezed out of the economic order; farmers organized to prevent foreclosures on their farms; school teachers who form a union to promote a more democratic relationship between themselves and the board or the superintendent; and parents who get together a citizens' committee to see that persons and corporations of great wealth and great incomes pay enough taxes to keep the public schools operating efficiently.

Circumstance itself is prompting such groups to seek social changes on behalf of the general human welfare. Since progressive-minded persons recognize the supreme validity of social development, they want to protect groups like those I have mentioned, to promote their activities, and to be allied with them. This is the viewpoint which makes a progressive.

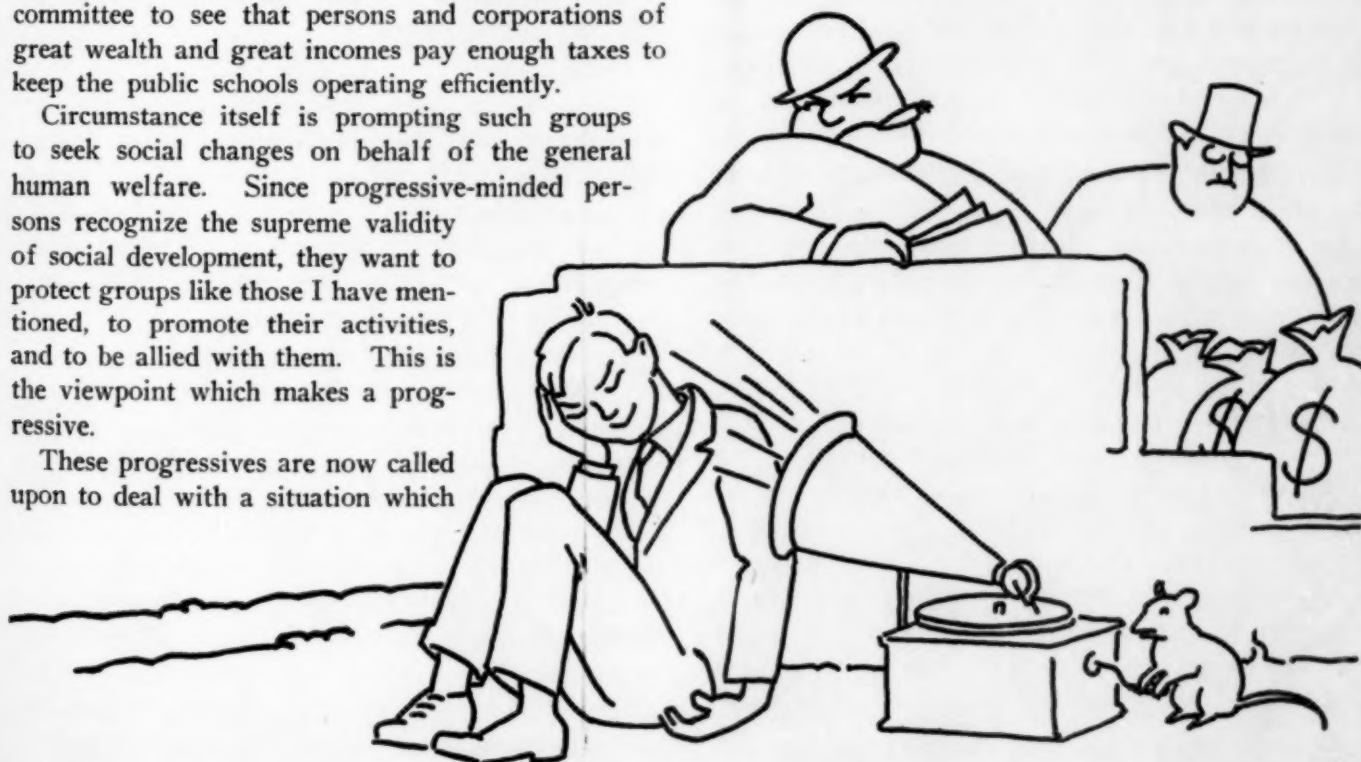
These progressives are now called upon to deal with a situation which

is somewhat new, somewhat different from those with which they dealt in the past—say in 1932 and 1936.

In the first place, the demands which the people are now beginning to make upon their political leadership are different from those they were making in the period from 1932 to 1936. Then, the great popular demand was for immediate relief from the unhappy effects of the economic crisis, and this demand took the form of a cry to get rid of the Old Guard and its policies. Today, this is no longer the prime issue to millions of unemployed and their families; to hundreds of thousands of dispossessed and debt-encumbered farmers; to millions of underpaid wage-earners; to millions of jobless youth. These millions now ask that something be done to rebuild our crumbling economic foundations, that steps be taken to extricate our people and our economic institutions from the economic crisis into which business leadership has thrown them.

Secondly, the "powers that be" are less willing than they were from 1932 to 1936 to give way to the demands of popular opinion; instead, they have organized a furious fight against further proposals from the progressives. One needs only to recall the fury of the fight against the Supreme Court bill, and the daily propaganda against the National Labor Relations Board and the TVA.

Finally, the whole conflict between the progressive-minded and the reactionary-minded is taking on an international character which it did not sharply have in the years 1932 to 1936. Regardless of what one's



personal judgment may be as to the issues involved in each case, there is no way to overlook how deeply American life and thought have been stirred by the questions of the war in Spain, the Soviet Union, the Nazi and Fascist persecution of the Jews, the Japanese invasion of China, the Munich pact, and Fascist developments in South and Central America. The world is entering another period of acute imperialism, like that of 1914-1918, and this is part of the altered situation with which the progressives must now deal.

Election returns of recent years indicate that in America about one third of the population gravitate persistently toward the camp of the progressives; another third tend to stay in the conservative camp, where some of the leaders, though not all, are general-issimos of reaction and Fascism. In between these two camps, lies the middle third of our population, composed of ordinary persons like you and me, who wish life to be decent and fair, and who want progress and opportunity for all, but who can be drawn into one camp or the other. Daily this middle third are drenched with the propaganda of reaction. Shall they be won for reaction, or for progress?

The next step before the progressives is to rally this middle group to follow progressive courses of action toward continued social development and improvement. That is mainly a job of education.

The education that is needed will lead people to discover what keeps our economic system from working; just who controls our economic life; just how their operations lead to economic crisis, to imperialism, and to wars of aggression; how vigilante groups are financed, and what they do; the place and importance of progressive groups, how we may prevent the burden of economic recovery from being shouldered by wage-earners, farmers, and small home owners.

By education in these and similar matters, I do not mean school-room study and the learning one takes from textbooks. I mean, rather, the education one can receive from the activities of life itself—from active work for peace through one of the peace leagues; from membership in one of the councils seeking to aid the unhappy victims of imperialism in China; from participation in a party to raise benefit funds for workmen who have been forced out on strike; from attempts to promote an adequate public-health program, and active efforts to make it possible for every one to receive competent medical aid. From such activities, men and women learn how society is organized to help or hurt progressive activities, and they learn who and what it is that prevents them from doing the things they know need to be done.

Both the consciously progressive-minded and the

"middle third" of our people need that kind of education. Developing it is the next step before the progressives, and it will lead to the mobilization of a majority of America into the progressive movement.

★

PHILIP F. LA FOLLETTE

THE RESULTS OF THE NOVEMBER ELECTION, and the primaries before it, have confirmed the worst fears of a great many thoughtful progressives. Many progressives had feared for some time that the Democratic party was fundamentally just as conservative and just as blind to the crucial problems of our time as the long-slumbering Republican party.

Progressives recognized and readily acknowledged that for the present the Democratic party had brilliant leadership at the top. At the same time, however, they were disturbed by the continued presence of a Hague, a Prendergast, a Kelly-Nash, and a Tammany machine as integral parts of the Democratic party. These spoils-dominated machines, one of which calmly and arrogantly continues to defy the Bill of Rights, were by no means the basis of the Democratic party's successive triumphs in 1932, 1934, and 1936. Quite the contrary, the Democratic party succeeded to power because for the first time in two decades the great mass of people became the Democratic party, flocking to it as the only available instrument for change and progress. But almost from the very first, there was a vital and deep-going struggle within the party itself. Despite overwhelming majorities in both houses of Congress, the administration was compelled to soften its blows and on several major occasions to fall back in full retreat.

President Roosevelt's failure to cleanse his own party of its most hard-boiled reactionaries demonstrated anew last spring and last summer the soundness of the progressive conviction that fundamentally the Democratic party is dominated and controlled by men who see and feel no more than the reactionaries in control of the Republican party.

Aware of this basic truth, a group of progressives last spring launched the National Progressives of America. Some sincere liberals doubted the necessity for such a movement, and attacked the wisdom of planting a progressive standard on the national scene at that time. Their contention rested on two assumptions: in the first place, they clung to the feeling that the Democratic party was an adequate instrument to achieve progressive ends; and in the second place, they feared that a new national party would divide the liberal forces of America, allowing our domestic imperialists—the reactionaries—to rule through this division

of liberal strength.

But as I have already indicated, both the primaries and the general elections served to repudiate the two assumptions. Progressives must face these facts. They must recognize that if this nation is to go forward with a genuine progressive program, it must forge a new and dynamic political instrument dedicated to the formulation and placing in operation of such a program. It must be free to move, free to turn around without running head on into the demands of a Hague machine or other groups of die-hard Bourbons. Far from questioning the timeliness of a new national Progressive party, progressives must recognize that *"it is later than you think."*

National Progressives of America intends to be in the field to provide the people a very real choice between reaction, as embodied in the two old parties, and progress, as embodied in the new progressive movement.

A genuine progressive movement must be more than a movement of protest. It must be a movement with a strong affirmative program of its own. It must be ready to grapple with the very real problems which confront the nation and the world today. For instance, progressives are committed to the nationalization of money and credit as the indispensable method of returning to the people the control of their own

national economy. Only through the complete nationalization of money and credit can we regulate the flow of capital into the arteries of our economic system and thus secure uninterrupted economic health. Every able-bodied man and woman must be provided with a self-respecting job at secure wages. Labor and agriculture must have the opportunity to bargain for their fair share of the wealth that they produce by brain and hand.

If they accept the challenge of recent events, if they use the temporary reverses of the past as a stepping-stone to real organization, progressives of America can unite for a real fight against the forces of reaction. It means rolling up our sleeves and wading into the fight of our lives. It means standing up in the face of ridicule. It means having the tenacity to stick when the going will be toughest. It means having the intestinal fortitude to take standing up, the blows and slurs of the opposition. Most of all it means work, plenty of work. National Progressives of America is in the field to stay, to stay until a genuine progressive philosophy becomes the prevailing program of America. We shall stop at nothing short of providing for the people of America the standard of living to which vast natural resources and a great ingenuity entitle them.

The New Role of the Teacher

♦ MAX SEHAM

IT IS NOW GENERALLY ACKNOWLEDGED in the educational world that health is a fundamental factor in preparing children for best citizenship. By the same token, modern educational hygiene postulates that teachers and non-medical health workers in the schools must participate in the application of the newer concept, "the whole child."

In the past, our outlook has been limited to that particular specialty in which we have been trained. The psychologist was interested in the child chiefly from the standpoint of exploring individual differences, the doctor stopped at the tonsils and the heart, the dietician was concerned with the nutrition of the child, and the teacher took it for granted that her role was limited to the teaching of the three R's. Today we see the child as a total functioning organism different from any other child in the world of living things.

To accept this point of view is one thing, but to practice it every day in teaching children is another. It is readily admitted on paper that the "whole child" must be educated, but until the school takes over its responsibility toward the entire biological growth and development of the child, this important concept is a mere by-word. It is true that in many school systems attempts have been made to provide medical inspection; in some schools, child-guidance clinics have taken care of a small number of emotional and learning difficulties. Special classes, also, have tried to meet the need of other handicapped children. But the large numbers of children who deviate physically, mentally, and socially from the normal are allowed to go through school unrecognized and untreated.

Before the advent of mental hygiene in schools, it was generally assumed that school failures were due

solely to mental incapacity or sheer unwillingness to learn. Because of this attitude which still prevails in too many schools today, the school marks were the sole criteria by which the teacher classified her pupils. This attitude was responsible for the failure of the teacher to recognize and refer for treatment many children who were suffering from physical disease and behavior inadequacies. If any treatment was administered, it was in the form of punishment for failure to conform to an established set of rules for conduct, or on the basis of mental deficiency.

Fortunately for both child and teacher, this attitude is on the decline. Today if a child misbehaves or does incompetent work, we regard such failure as the result of preventable and curable causes. We attempt to diagnose the situation, seeking to isolate the casual factors, with an eye to their elimination. Toward this end, the teacher requires a practical understanding of the meaning and use of the concept the "whole child." In other words, she must become familiar with the physical, emotional, intellectual, and environmental factors working through laws of health and behavior which produce maladjustments and inadequacies.

Final diagnosis and actual treatment must be left to the nurses, school physicians, and psychiatrists; the teacher, however, can, and should be able to correlate the child's behavior with his functional state. It is not within her province to determine whether a child has a certain defect or a said disease. True, she may have her opinions, but the responsibility for authentic diagnosis rests with the physician, private or public, at the behest of the parent. The teacher can determine whether the child shows signs or symptoms of gross physical faults which make it advisable, or perchance

imperative, that professionals be consulted to ascertain whether or not anything needs to be done and what that is to be. A kindly and not too officious interest in the child's health on the part of the teacher should serve as a bond between her and the parents, and by a little tact and interest much can be accomplished toward getting the child taken to a physician or to a clinic.

While it is unnecessary (and somewhat unwise) for the teacher to attempt to specify the exact nature of the disease, she should be familiar with the symptoms of infectious diseases and constantly on the watch for them, especially during epidemics.

In the physical examination, also, the teacher may cooperate by testing vision and hearing so that a thorough examination and proper treatment may be given early by the doctor and also so that she herself can arrange for the most efficient seating and methods of instruction. In some states, in the absence of medical examiners, the teacher is required by law to make tests of the vision and hearing of her pupils. Even in cities which have an adequate system of medical inspection, it is desirable, even though not required, that the teacher should be able to make such tests. If she has the proper training and the permission of the school authorities, she can even make emergency examinations. Though not qualified as a medical diagnostician, she can and should be encouraged to be constantly alert to observe the child and to obtain all the betraying facts and forward these speedily to the proper person. The teacher is in the most strategic position to suspect disturbances in health, both physical and emotional, long before even the parent or the physician. She should early seek to establish the pupil's physical and mental level, know his previous history, note irregular attendance, and discover his mental tone and attitude with reference to his particular conflicts or anxieties.

Facial expression, posture, reaction time to the spoken word, color of the skin, physical and mental stamina—these and others are indicators of health. The child who is restless because of a scabetic itch, the mouth-breather who keeps his mouth ajar throughout the whole period, the child who clutches his book too closely to his face or squints when looking at the blackboard, the pupil who demands a request repeated again and again before he comprehends—all these will reveal their respective deficiencies.

As to emotional difficulties, the teacher is likewise in an ideal position to observe and record unusual or undesirable reactions to encouragement and criticism, to success and failure; the individual pupil's participation or lack of participation in the activities of his class; his expressions of fear, anger, or jealousy; his degree of sensitiveness or indifference; his sense of



responsibility; his type of effort, ambition, and enthusiasm.

It is obvious that in order to carry out successfully such a diagnostic program the teacher must first of all get the adequate preparation and experience. At present, the knowledge of most teachers on this subject is vague and incomplete. Apparently we have acted on the assumption that teachers know intuitively all that is necessary. The vast majority of them have pursued only a brief one-semester course in educational psychology, possibly supplemented by a brief one-semester course in child study. So little time has been given to the psychology work they have pursued and so much has been crammed into the brief courses, that the modicum they have acquired has been of little practical value to them. With such superficial preparation, it is not to be expected that the average teacher will be able to guide and direct growth and development so that the child's personality will reach its maximum of efficient, symmetrical growth without suffer-

ing irreparable damage from the innumerable perils that beset the path of personal progress on every hand. Neither will she be able to individualize skillfully the processes of instruction to meet the needs of her varying pupil material, or apply sound principles of mental hygiene in her management of all the classroom activities, or perform skillfully the functions of a guidance counselor.

If the teacher is to improve herself diagnostically, she will have to pursue more courses in applied mental hygiene, and in abnormal and clinical psychology. Further, she must learn the art of observation in order to recognize early all children who are suffering from specific mental, educational, social, and physical disabilities.

It is beginning to dawn upon at least some of the leaders in the teaching profession that the supreme function of the school, particularly so far as the elementary grades are concerned, is to develop healthy, efficient personalities rather than teach subject matter.

Dare Teachers Change the Press?

◆ LAWRENCE MARTIN

I WAS TALKING OVER George Seldes' new book the other day with a Genteel Person, one of those who toils in the upper reaches of the newspaper industry. His conclusion ran that there was some merit in the book, BUT Seldes "as usual" had many misstatements of fact; and a heart that was in the right place had been misled by hair-trigger indignation into too much scolding and fault-finding.

This is as good a way as any to dismiss the criticism of a man who knows the "game" from the inside. It's an old technique, an escape technique. Upton Sinclair's *Brass Check* was similarly pish-tushed. The American Society of Newspaper Editors, after inviting Clarence Darrow and Silas Bent to criticize the press, belittled their remarks on the same excuse. Westbrook Pegler, Stanley Walker, the late Marlen Pew, and other stalwarts could always be relied upon to rally to the cause of Press Freedom from Attack. And when Senator Minton gave it to the newspapers with both barrels, he was overwhelmed with abuse.

The newspaper is our unique institution. In two ways the position of the press in the national com-

plex entitles it to unique ranking. First, it is the Great Untouchable. It has assumed that its vital function, and its patriotic duty, is to haul everything and anything over the coals. But criticism of its own operations is violently denounced. The press appears to have set up a double standard of criticism. Its own distortions and errors are made light of. But should a critic of the press make any errors of fact, his entire argument is forthwith damned by it twice over.

Second, the press is a well-nigh insoluble problem. Many years ago Dr. Frank Tannenbaum showed in a provocative book that the problem of the Negro was insoluble. He maintained, if I remember his argument correctly, that all the "solutions" which had been proposed only opened the door to graver problems. The case of the press is comparable. There is no way in which the press can be depended upon, or compelled, to discharge honestly its function of supplying *the news*. It can be depended upon to supply bias, opinion, magazine features, accurate box scores and racing results, and information about battle, murder, and sudden death. But it cannot be depended

upon to report fairly, or in some instances even to report at all, events in the controversial realm—such as the activities of government, whether local, state, or federal, big business, and labor.

We could make up our own interesting "Information Please" program on the press. Would it require an expert to answer this question with assurance—which committee investigation has the press (all of it, or your own newspaper) reported more fully, the Dies inquiry or the LaFollette? In many newspapers, the LaFollette committee disclosures, sensational though they were, and news in any journalist's definition, got no space at all. To the first thirteen meetings of the LaFollette committee, the *New York Times* gave 324 inches, the *Christian Science Monitor* 208 inches—the *Chicago Tribune*, 39 inches! And, to quote the investigator, Miss Roberta Clay: "The *Chicago Tribune* . . . failed to give the investigation news space except as it could make out a case against the New Deal."

At the moment I am writing this, Newspaper Guild pickets are walking up and down in front of the plants of the two Chicago Hearst newspapers—there is a strike of some 500 Hearst employees: reporters, copy-readers, photographers, branch managers of circulation, and workers in the business and promotion departments. Although the *New York Times* finds this newsworthy and gives it plenty of space, the strike is not news in the Chicago press. Few Chicagoans know there is a strike; and the strikers have as little chance to publicize it on the radio as in the papers.

Both as consumers of the daily newspaper—product of the one industry whose business privileges are halloed by the Constitution—

and as teachers, we are confronted by this quandary:

1. The newspaper business is big business. The large city plants are worth millions of dollars. In most of the large cities it would cost at least five million dollars and something like a gang war to bring out another newspaper. This means that in any crucial matter we get the kind of news big business wills us to get.

2. The big business press is practically above the law. It might have to take the rap of damages in a particularly glaring case of libel (in which case no paper will publish the news of the verdict), but it is free to invade the citizen's privacy and to make a hash of fair trial. Any attempts to safeguard the public in the matters of its exploitation of child labor or dishonest advertising have small success.

3. At a time in human history full of change and the possibility of disorganization and breakdown, when as never before we need an alert and intelligent citizenry, the newspaper votes daily against intelligence: by failing to live up to its obligation to be honest, and by emphasizing unintelligence in its "features"—comics, society, commercial sport, promotions, and bilge of the *American Weekly* variety.

Lest I be put down as unduly puritanical on the last point, let me quote from the remarks of Mr. J. Charles Poe, of the *Chatanooga News*, in 1934—one of the few liberal remarks in many years of American Society of Newspaper Editors meetings: "Is not the time ripe for a shift away from the diet of dull routine, inconsequential crime and cheap, flippant entertainment in our news columns to a more intelligent and withal more nourishing news menu?"

"They Wouldn't Print This!"

HTWO No. 5358—6 Pfs F. Siper—J. Messner x2—11-15—Orig.

Here's some news that's real news—

but it may never appear in the
news columns of any paper!

IT MAY NEVER appear because our free press is controlled by powerful, anonymous men who dictate what gets into print. There are few newspapers which do not deliberately suppress or distort news. Even those who make sincere efforts to present the news without bias too often lapse from their good intentions.

Lords of the Press, the new book by the author of *You Can't Print That!*, is an unsparring analysis of the owners of the leading newspapers, their personalities, policies and practices . . . showing to what extent our public press is free, bought, yellow, vicious or scared. But it is more than an expose! Virginia Kirkus says it is "as sensational and more frightening than *America's Sixty Families*" but, she adds, "the final section, one of the most important, points out what the man in the street can do about it."

This is a challenging and exciting book—as shocking and direct as a bullet! If you believe what appears in print—or distrust what does—you owe it to yourself to read this book and act on it.

Read what others say about it: "Candidate for the most sensational book of the season."—*Donald Gordon*. "Brave, well-informed, wholesome."—*Book-of-the-Month Club News*. "A grand job."—*Charles Beard*. "By all means read it!"—*Walter Winchell*.

LORDS OF THE PRESS

by George Seldes

author of YOU CAN'T PRINT THAT!

416 pages, indexed, \$3.00

at all bookshops, or

JULIAN MESSNER, INC., 8 W 40 ST., N.Y.

PROOFS FROM

NEW YORK
Herald Tribune
PLEASE READ ENTIRE PROOF
BEFORE YOU APPROVE

This is a proof of an ad which Julian Messner, Inc., publishers of George Seldes' new book *Lords of the Press*, received from the *New York Herald Tribune*. However, the ad was never printed by the *Herald Tribune*, which apparently substantiates much of what Mr. Seldes has been writing about the American press.

I believe that it is. . . I am definitely of the opinion that our people are ready for a more substantial news treatment. They want a chance to know about those social questions which heretofore have been chiefly the concern of scholars. They would like, perhaps, to try to relate themselves constructively to the pattern of their times. . . ."

I have said that this problem of the malfunctioning of the newspaper is insoluble. An endowed press will not solve it. Ethical codes, written by the press lords in the spirit of political campaign platforms, have not solved it. You cannot legislate a solution. Letters to the editor cannot do it. Newspaper boycotts cannot achieve much, for the alternative is to do without. A labor press is no more a solution than is a radical press because it is a class press, and as such provides a solution, if any, for only part of the population.

If Mr. Seldes' book is to be criticized on any point, it is on this one, that he hasn't recognized the scope of the problem. Mr. Seldes feels, with a rather unsure optimism to my mind, that the advance of the Newspaper Guild may take care of this, our No. 1 "cultural" problem. And it is possible that the Guild, when it has attained security for its members, may turn to professional matters and try to enforce an ethical code. But the Guild itself, as Mr. Seldes shows, at present repudiates any such aim. True, matters have gone so far that in some Guild contracts a reporter or writer has the right to say that his name shall not be by-lined on an article which is against his convictions, or of which he disapproves for any reason. That is a negative something. But it is eloquent of the bog in which we find ourselves on this newspaper problem that if the Guild's leaders were to try today to add to its aims anything of a crusading, professional, directing, or controlling character, the rank and file would revolt. And it will be many years, if ever, before the Newspaper Guild will interest itself in such activity, or be educated to the point of presenting a united professional front.

However, Mr. Seldes does not propose, in his book, to settle the newspaper question. His aim is more modest and his achievements more interesting. The book is in three parts. Part I paints in twenty-two chapters the portraits of the main press barons, milords of New York, Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, California, etc. Part II gives us sketches of the main groups of baronial retainers: the scribes, the jongleurs, the favorite jesters—or in homelier language, the foreign and Washington correspondents, the editorialists, the columnists. Part III offers recipes for action.



These are excellent recipes, the best that can be offered. While they will not give us the kind of press our nation needs, they would considerably improve the intolerable situation if a sufficient number of citizens could be moved to try them. I wish Mr. Seldes had written in a paragraph or two directed at the teachers, their responsibility for the situation and their role in changing it. Among teachers there are too many press victims, too few press critics. If teachers could be educated, or could educate themselves, to understanding and action, there might be some chance that a generation of readers would arise who would demand of the publishers more honest and substantial goods, less coloring matter, more meat and less gristle, more news and less paper. Teachers are more strongly entrenched professionally than newspaper workers will be for at least a decade. They can dictate curricula as no newspaper underlings can dictate the reporting, handling, or display of news. More courses in reading the newspaper, presented by teachers who can see both the woods and the trees, are urgently needed.

While we are about it, why not some attention to the magazines? There are hundreds of them also, with millions of readers. Is it not strange that, while the newspapers have their Sinclairs, Bents, Seldeses, the magazines have escaped critical scrutiny? This too is of interest to the teaching profession, for all the investigations made of the magazine reading of teachers show saddening results. Teachers, it seems, are addicts mainly of such stereotyped periodicals as the *Saturday Evening Post*, the *American Magazine*, and of course the women's monthlies. The quality

magazines—*Harper's*, the *Atlantic*—are far down on the list, and almost at the tail end, at the vanishing point, come the *Nation* and the *New Republic*, *Scribner's* and *Forum*. The reading taste of teachers seems about on the level of the general population. On this showing we can hardly say that teachers are leaders. How many teachers could take a copy of *Time* and detect in it the evidences of prejudice, bias, and distortion?

The Lords of the Press reign over us with an abso-

lutism as real as that of any Louis XIV or Hitler. They form our minds with their daily headlines, cartoons, and "features"; with their slanting, omission, subordination, or blowing-up of this kind of news or that. In the end, perhaps it is true that we get the kind of newspaper we deserve. We shall have better ones only when we deserve them, and we shall deserve them only if we are able to fight our way up through our own minds, largely formed by the press. The pupil must revolt against the textbook.

Supreme Court Upholds Lloyd Gaines

◆ LEON A. RANSOM

ON DECEMBER 12, 1938, the United States Supreme Court reached a decision¹ that will cause repercussions throughout the entire field of graduate and professional education for the next few years. That decision, in brief, established (1) that a state which undertakes to furnish educational opportunities as a state function to its citizens must afford substantially equal opportunities to all of such citizens who apply and are qualified, and that there can be no denial of this opportunity to an applicant because he is a Negro; (2) that this function must be performed within the state borders; (3) that therefore a system of tuition scholarships (now in effect in seven states²) by which the state provides financial aid for study elsewhere to Negroes who desire to take courses available to white students in the state universities, but from which Negroes are barred because of their race, is unconstitutional in that it deprives them of equality of protection under the law; (4) that the state could meet this burden either by setting up separate, but equal, facilities for its Negro students or by admitting them to the existing institutions; and finally (5) the duty of the state to provide equal facilities can not be measured by the number of students who make application.

The decision marks the culmination of both the Negro race's struggle to obtain equality of educational opportunities and one phase of its more recent effort to demonstrate to the nation as a whole that a policy of discrimination, manifested by insufficient courses, inadequate physical plants and equipment,

and inferior salaries for teachers in Negro schools, is detrimental to the political, social, and economic order, not only of today, but, more seriously, of tomorrow.

The effort to get a Supreme Court decision on the right of a Negro to receive a professional or graduate training within his own state borders at state expense was the natural, evolutionary step in the education program of a race that had once been held in physical slavery and still is, in many respects, confined in an economic bondage. The first generation after slavery was confronted with the problem of learning to read and write—the old three R's. The removal of actual illiteracy was the immediate objective.

The second generation faced the task of forcing the states to provide schools and teachers for Negroes on an equal (in theory) basis. The law books are full of decisions in which both state and federal courts established and recognized the principle upon which the present decision is based—that the state may separate the races for the purposes of education, if its internal policy so dictates, but that it must provide substantially equal facilities to the two races. The last generation of Negroes since slavery had as its problem the extension of this principle to the establishment and maintenance of state-supported institutions of higher learning for Negroes. Every state which practiced the policy of segregated education established or aided one of these so-called "colleges." Up until recent years most of them were little more than mediocre high schools or industrial or agricultural institutions. However, efforts on the part of educators within the past two decades have borne fruit

¹State of Missouri, ex rel. Lloyd Gaines vs. S. W. Canada, et al., 59 S. Ct. 232, (Dec. 12, 1938).

²Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia.

with the result that today most of these institutions are real colleges of liberal arts.

It was obvious that the next step, to be taken by the present generation, would be to attempt to gain a right to *full* participation in the state's program of education—the right to enjoy the benefits of graduate and professional training wherever the state had initiated such courses. That this had been anticipated is evidenced by the fact that a few of the southern and border states, recognizing the theoretical legal right of Negro students to such education, enacted statutes which offered them a sum of money, —in some cases the full amount of tuition, in others the differential between the cost of tuition in another state and that in the state of domicile³—to enable such students to go to such other state to complete the education he desired. As early as 1932 a Negro youth made application for admission to the School of Pharmacy at the University of North Carolina; but his suit, brought after refusal, was dismissed because of a technical failure on his part to meet the entrance requirements. A similar application for graduate work in the University of Virginia by a young Negro woman was rejected in 1935. No legal proceedings were instituted in that case. The following year, almost simultaneously, applications for admission to the Law School of the University of Maryland, the Pharmaceutical School of the University of Tennessee, and, in Gaines's case, to the Law School of the University of Missouri, were filed. In all three the university officials refused the applicants, and in each case the student appealed to the courts for a writ of mandamus to compel his admission. The Maryland courts decided⁴ that since the state had undertaken the function of education in the law, and had excluded the applicant from the enjoyment thereof solely on account of his race and color, and made no adequate provision for him elsewhere, it must admit him to the only institution maintained by that state.⁵ However, the court did not pass on the question of the constitutionality of the state's scholarship tuition plan for the reason that the plan, as then operated, was incapable of giving any adequate substitute relief, there not being sufficient funds to distribute to all those who had applied for participation in it.

At about the same time the Tennessee courts and the Missouri courts had decided to the contrary in

their cases, and the Missouri decision was brought to the Supreme Court of the United States. Gaines's case was chosen in preference to the Tennessee one for the reason that, at that time, the latter state had no scholarship plan, and so the constitutionality of this device could not be questioned on appeal. The wisdom of the choice is demonstrated by the instant decision which effectively closes the gap left open by the Maryland case and establishes, once for all, that personal rights and opportunities cannot be measured in terms of money, and a substantial portion of the citizenry be deprived thereof by a payment of a currency equivalent.

No one will be so naïve as to believe that this decision will solve the problems overnight. There are still many difficulties the realist must face. Chief among these is the practical one of getting those states which are committed to the separate school system to put the principle in effect. As the writer views the situation, these are the alternatives available to such states under the decision: (a) set up separate Negro universities, department by department, equal in every respect to the present state universities, as demand is made therefor by Negro applicants, even if there be only one such applicant for each department or division; (b) set up separate classes for Negro students within the confines of the present state universities;⁶ (c) admit Negro students to the present classes;⁷ (d) abolish all graduate and professional instruction as a state institution.

To each of these there are now—and more will arise—many objections. To (a) and (b) the greatest of these is the financial burden involved. At present only two states, Tennessee and Missouri, are in a position to even approach the problem from a practical point of view. Missouri, by its "Lincoln University Act of 1921," has provided a theoretical university for Negroes equal in all respects to the University of Missouri. But, as pointed out by the court in the instant case, this is only a paper university and no funds are available to carry the plan into effect. And the student's right to an education exists in the present, not some nebulous future time when the state can afford it. On the other hand, Tennessee has the nucleus of a real university already at hand in the several private institutions surrounding its present State College for Negroes at Nashville if it can arrange a merger of these and find the funds with which to purchase and operate them. Within a radius

³The Missouri statute provided for the difference between the cost of tuition at the University of Missouri and that at any institution in an adjacent state which the Negro student attended.

⁴University of Maryland vs. Murray, 169 Md. 478.

⁵Mr. Murray, who has now completed his course, receiving the LL.B. degree, reports that he suffered no inconveniences or indignities while in attendance, being granted every right and courtesy offered his classmates.

⁶But many states have constitutional or statutory provisions which prohibit teaching white and Negro children in the same buildings!

⁷This would necessitate a revision (or an ignoring) of the present laws requiring separation.

of a few blocks from the state school there are Meharry College, with departments of medicine, surgery, dentistry, and a non-active school of pharmacy, Fisk University, with one of the country's leading graduate divisions, and the Kent College of Law. With these under state control and support, Tennessee would be in a fair way to meet the problem adequately.

No other states have either plans for a separate university or private institutions which they can absorb. But, as pointed out above, the real difficulty is one of finance. Already the state institutions in the area affected by the decision are suffering from a lack of sufficient annual appropriations, with a consequent difficulty of maintaining their standards. To duplicate, or even to add to the present appropriations seems almost impossible and highly improbable. It is extremely doubtful if the people of the state can or will add to their already high tax burden. Even the relatively slight increase which would result, in separate classes for Negroes, from additional salary and operating expense will impose a real burden.

The danger about which the A. F. of T. and all educators must be alert is that which may come in an effort to lighten this increased burden by a general lowering of the salary scale for all teachers and by a reduction in the quality and quantity of classroom



instruction. Even more serious is the possibility that a great deal, or all of the present state aid to the counties for educational purposes may be taken away and diverted to the maintenance of separate universities, and teachers in the elementary and high-school divisions left to the vagaries and uncertainties of the county taxing unit.

Equally dangerous, but less likely to occur, is the adoption of the suggestion (d) above—that the state give up the function of graduate and professional training. This, in addition to the injury which would be inflicted upon the masses who cannot afford the luxuries of a private institution, would result in the glutting of the teachers' labor market with the thousands of men and women who would be summarily dismissed. All of these alternatives seem to be too high a price to pay for the maintenance of a system of prejudice and segregation that has long since outgrown the conditions out of which it originated. The only sensible, economical, and democratic plan for which teachers everywhere should work and argue is the unlimited admission of qualified Negro applicants to the present classes and institutions maintained by the state. For some years yet to come they will be comparatively few in number and will create or cause no problem that is insurmountable. A sincere, professional effort on the part of teachers to cope with the situation and to show their communities that maintenance of prejudice will result in both financial and moral bankruptcy of our present educational scheme in dictated not only by the ultimate good to be attained, but by the present financial interests of the teachers themselves.

Two other alternatives have been suggested by some educators and editorial writers which ought to be mentioned to conclude this article but which the writer thinks can be dismissed with a word. One of these is for several southern states to band together and establish a "regional" university for Negroes, thus dividing the cost. It is obvious that this will also be unconstitutional, in view of the decision's announcement that the state must perform its duties alike "within its borders," unless the plan includes a proposal to do away with the present state universities and establish a similar "regional" university for white students. There would then be equality of treatment.

The second proposes a system of free state scholarships to Negro students—the very thing declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. Presumably, however, the scheme would not make such scholarships compulsory, but would make them so attractive that it would be economically advantageous to the Negro student to accept rather than insist upon attendance at the state university. While this has many of the cost disadvantages discussed previously, a suggestion is ventured here that the plan could and would be successfully attacked as unconstitutional.

Any white student could raise the point that he was being discriminated against, and any taxpayer could probably enjoin the use of state funds in this manner as a waste.

It would seem to follow, then, that the A. F. of T. and all other liberal groups must recognize that to protect their own interests and liberties it is necessary that every effort be exerted to require compliance with the mandate of the Supreme Court; and that the most

effective protection will be afforded by a policy of aiding in molding public sentiment to the view that the Negro not only has a right to equality of education, but that it should be given to him just as it is to every other citizen to the end that the public money and energies may be used most effectively and not wasted by a system of duplication based on prejudice and a refusal to realize that the old order has changed.

Madison's Policy Committee Reports

◆ WILLIAM E. BULL

ABOUT A YEAR AGO Dr. Winspear reported to our local the new program of the National Educational Policies Committee. He was very enthusiastic, dramatic. There is a growing attack upon the American schools. Educational democracy is being threatened. The schools are being redirected for the special benefit of the sacred few.

"Where?" we asked.

"In Chicago, there is the Johnson plan," he replied. "In Philadelphia the Work's intelligence test trick. . ."

"And in Wisconsin . . . what?" we queried.

Right there we bogged down. Here was a young war going on against the schools all over the nation and none of us had so much as heard a B-B gun pop. Our enthusiasm thermometer struck zero almost immediately. We adjourned and went home. We thought, and rather woefully, no war in Wisconsin!

But Dr. Winspear was convinced. He came back at the next meeting. Made another speech. If there is no attack in Wisconsin, then there are at least two things we must do. We must publicize the attack in other states, help them fight there, and see to it that the attack does not come to Wisconsin. The thermometer went up to 32 degrees; we thawed out and appointed a committee.

War correspondents were chosen and we began to gather ammunition to use on our imaginary enemy. We learned the Johnson plan outline. We read up on the Work's proposal in Philadelphia. We clipped newspapers and magazines which told of teachers being fired for teaching democracy and teachers being made to take oaths not to teach it. There was a war! The thermometer kept going up. We outlined a city-wide conference, envisaged a state-wide conference of all organizations, planned to present our war correspondence, and, finally, asked the Madison Federation of Labor to let one of our speakers present the whole problem, as our first concrete step.

I happened to make that speech. I pictured special privilege running the schools, painted the dangers to unions, pointed up the moral of more and more education, sounded the war gong, held up Chicago and Philadelphia, and sat down to wait for questions.

"The next order of business . . ." said the president.

I started to leave the hall and paused to listen to a fellow in the back of the room.

"These teachers are off," he was saying. "They think education's a religion. Always harping on it . . . Long-haired boys. . ." I left hurriedly. The thermometer went down to 40 below.

I am certain that many locals with more enthusiasm than we had and better intentions have run up against just this same situation. The local labor groups will not listen to them. There is no home-town Frankenstein running amuck in the streets. The average man doesn't even remember one hiding in the index of his high-school history book.

And when we thought of that—the average man doesn't remember anything being wrong with his school when he was a child—we tumbled over ourselves with amazement. Of course not! Neither had most of us, and that was just why we had never seen anything of the war that Dr. Winspear had been talking about. It dawned upon us that we had the horse hitched to the wrong end of the cart. What we had been calling an attack upon the schools was really an attack upon the intelligence of the American people, an attack which had been going on so long that all of us (we who had wanted to fight it and those whom we wanted to rescue) were unaware that anything had been put over on us.

We took stock and changed our methods. It became obvious that the work for the committee had a dual object: to simultaneously re-educate the people (and ourselves) so that we might have a critical basis

on which to judge what the schools should and should not teach, and to make a survey of the local school system to find out if it was doing an adequate job of educating.

We drew up a new program, set up a speakers' bureau, asked labor locals and civic clubs to hear our speakers, and made some speeches which, in short, were received about as enthusiastically as a pauper on Wall Street. We felt as though we were pushing a mountain around, though we did get the Madison Federation of Labor, the C.I.O. Industrial Council, and the Madison Council for Liberal Action to officially endorse our program.

All of this had taken up about three months and we had not yet dug the first trench. After all, we needed to dramatize our program, to put some zip into it, and to make the people aware of it.

We cooked up a plan to have all the books dealing with social sciences in the city schools exhibited so that people might look them over and see for themselves what was being taught in the schools. We decided to approach the city librarians and to ask them to cooperate with us in putting on a campaign to get more adults interested in self-education.

Mr. Bardwell, the superintendent of schools, was cooperative. He offered to gather up all the books used in the high schools for our exhibit. Miss Helen Farr, the head librarian of the city, was willing to exhibit them in the lobby of the main library. Still more, she was willing to meet with our committee to discuss possibilities of interesting union men in using the libraries more frequently. The mountain began to move.

A meeting was arranged between about forty local labor leaders, educators, townspeople, Miss Farr, and the Library Commission. Some of these individuals had not been in the library for twenty years. They had reasons. We found them out and laid plans to remove such barriers as might possibly continue to keep workingmen away from the library. After a three-hour session the following plans were worked out:

1. The library is to prepare a pamphlet giving the locations of all the libraries, the rules, and, in general, what the library has to offer to the public. This pamphlet is to be distributed to all union people.

2. The library is to prepare a bibliography of all books which might interest union people.

3. On the request of any union the library will prepare special bibliographies on any topic which that union may be interested in.

4. Union educational committees are to meet with Miss Farr to discuss what new books should be added to the library, and these books are to be bought as funds permit and space is provided.

5. Miss Farr will direct a special class on how to use the library for any union that is interested.

6. All the libraries will install special places for union newspapers and magazines, to be provided by the unions.

7. When funds are available, the library will issue a list of new books acquired each month, so that the public may know of all additions. These lists will be given to the newspapers and copies will be sent to all local unions.

8. During one month, in the fall, the main library will exhibit the school texts used in the public schools. They may be drawn out as any other book. Special union educational committees will review these books from the viewpoint of labor interest.

9. Arrangements are to be made so that people may call for books at branch libraries and return them there also, so that trips to the main library may be avoided for those living at some distance.

This meeting made the front page of a local daily with twenty inches of excellent advertising for our program. The committee now took a new lease on life. The library began to carry out its promises. The trade unions began to feel that they were getting some attention which they long may have deserved but for which they had never thought of asking. The superintendent of schools produced the textbooks, about 100 in all, and union members, not only of the teachers union but sewage plant workers, carpenters, railroad men, and painters, began to look them over.

Suddenly the bomb burst. The war had come to Wisconsin. We had been overlooking it while it existed between the covers of our own textbooks. We were astounded, especially because at that time (which was two months before the November elections) we were happily under the impression that Wisconsin was a liberal, yes, even a very progressive state, and that Madison, its capital, was exceedingly so. One may still say that Madison is progressive and that its textbooks probably are as good, if not better, than most liberal cities in the country. Yet we found in the books that (1) unions threaten to destroy the government, (2) unions take away from men their "sacred" right to work, (3) the history of the labor movement has been one of bloodshed, rioting, and destruction of property—all of which is blamed on the unions—(4) students would do better not to have anything to do with unions, but should play along with the company or join a company union.

There is much more. Fascism is praised; democratic processes damned. The Ku Klux Klan is a worthy organization; senate investigating committees are not. Depositors never lose money when banks go broke, and cooperatives are not safe institutions in which to invest.

Such findings were not only astounding: they were news. A reporter mentioned our findings to his edi-

tor, William T. Evjue, a staunch leader in the progressive movement in Wisconsin, and, as a result, he was assigned to write a series of articles on our findings. Four articles, totalling 206 column inches, appeared on four successive Sundays in the *Capital Times*, and on the front page.

The textbooks were at once placed on exhibit, letters were written to all labor locals asking them to hear one of our speakers discuss our program, and a city conference was planned. The people were now awakened to the problem and the committee began to get constant cooperation. Several informal meetings were held with townspeople and labor leaders, and within six weeks we had spoken to about twenty organizations with a total audience of roughly 1500.

By this time we had come to October of 1938. Our program was now in full swing and we began to branch out to include our original intentions, that is, to gather public opinion behind us in our attempt to make education impartial and, at the same time, educate the public so that it might have a critical attitude toward education.

A conference was called of the officers and educational council of the State Employee's Association (A.F. of L.), representatives from the local and state vocational school boards, the dean of the University of Wisconsin Extension Division, representatives of the School for Workers, librarians, the director of the State Bureau of Personnel, the Educational Council of the Madison Federation of Labor, and our committee. Several hours were spent in attempting to coordinate the educational work of all these agencies. Plans for more intensive cooperation were worked out, new courses and public forums were outlined, and detailed methods for getting union men to use libraries and other available educational facilities were discussed during this conference.

A few weeks later the committee began a series of radio broadcasts over Station WHA in which we discuss such topics as propaganda in textbooks, the labor movement's fight for free public education, adult education, the growing attack upon democratic education, why teachers should organize, and, in general, our whole program.

Meanwhile, the committee felt that our activities should reach out farther than just to the city of Madison, and a plan was conceived whereby a national investigation of education might be feasible. We felt that a thorough study would probably reveal that in those regions of the country where the Senate's Civil Liberties Committee had found the greatest abridgement of democracy very little of that democracy was taught in the schools. Consequently, we submitted to Senator Robert M. La Follette a brief of our position and asked him for an interview to discuss it with him. He offered to back our plan and suggested that the brief be presented to WPA officials in Washington as a project. At the present time the brief is in the hands of Mrs. M. F. Grossman, our national legislative representative, who has been asked to take it up with Washington officials.

It is the feeling of the committee that we have now laid the foundation for much constructive work in the future. The State Federation of Teachers endorsed our program at its last convention, and the State Federation of Labor will present corrective and constructive legislation to the State Legislature this year, in part, at least, as a result of our work.

We have felt, however, all along that we have not closely coordinated our work with the work of other locals all over the country, just as we have felt that the problem before us is infinitely outside the powers of any one local to handle. We must all get together, and quickly.

I believe that Regent Kenneth Hones of the University of Wisconsin expressed the sharpest analysis of the educational work that we are now doing when I recently presented our committee's program to him.

He said, "do you think we can educate the American people fast enough? I am sometimes afraid that those who are against us will beat us to them."



Tenax Propositi

◆ NED H. DEARBORN

ODDLY ENOUGH America owes Herr Hitler and his fellow dictators a debt of gratitude. So does the whole world. We are their debtor in the same sense that we profit by experience derived from the assiduous activity of every articulate enemy. That experience forces us into a vigorous vigilance that should base its conduct on care and wisdom. Vigilance cannot be effective if it depends upon timid caution, pointless action, or mere alertness. It needs the strong foundations of such enduring and thorough care as can be found only in critical study. It needs the firm basis of wise counsel which is a logical result of critical study. Sound interpretations of conditions and their practical application become the program of action of vigilance so conceived. The enemy is thus met by positive resistance. If the anti-democratic Hitler as No. 1 Enemy of Democracy focuses American thought on the individual and group values of liberty, of freedoms and human rights to the end that we clarify the issues of democratic social life, he has served one good purpose. The lesson, though negative, should certainly benefit us.

The lesson applies to all phases of our national life—for example, government, social relations, industry, religion, and education. These terms broadly defined are all-inclusive and therefore neither singly nor together lend themselves to brief discussion. Hence this discussion is limited in little more than outline form to schools and colleges as the chief agencies of education in its technical sense.

It is needless here to argue the potential importance of schools and colleges in a democratic country. It is beside the point of this comment to dispute the common claim that they are free institutions. It is pertinent to challenge them by questions on the grounds of democracy. To do so may be heresy, but it is not treason.

Question Number 1. *What contributions have "educators" made to an understanding of democracy?* The word has its meaning for nearly all of us in the writings of traditional American proponents and defenders of the faith—Thomas Jefferson, Samuel and John Quincy Adams, James Madison, and James Otis; in the lives of Andrew Jackson and Abraham Lincoln as symbolic of the dignity and importance of the common people; in the thought of Thomas Paine as found for example in *The Age of Reason* and *The Rights of*

Man; of John Locke in his letter and essay on *Tolerance* and his two treatises on *Civil Government*; of John Stuart Mill in his essay, *Of the Liberty of Thought and Discussion*; of John Milton in *Areopagitica*; of Rousseau, Montesquieu, and Voltaire. Then if we wish to contemplate historically the development of democratic thought we turn to the writings of Aristotle, Marsiglio of Padua, Leopold of Baden, Nicholas of Cusa, Philip Melancthon, Jean Bodin, Hubert Languet, Sir Thomas More, John Muir, George Buchanan, and Thomas Aquinas. No democrat can find much comfort in Aristotle nor in the writers of the Middle Ages. These men did, however, discuss some aspects of the question which in a few cases required no little courage considering the times. Among our contemporaries we study the writings of John Dewey, Boyd H. Bode, Bertrand Russell, James Bryce, and Thomas Mann. Here, though, we can attribute original thought only to one or two of them. Where among this imposing list of thinkers on democracy are the "educators"? A pitiful minority indeed.

Murmurs of discontent can be felt concerning this indictment. The question is thus raised regarding the extent to which original thought can be expected from our schools and colleges. Original thought is by no means our only contribution to democracy. There are "wholesalers" among us who serve a good turn, the authors of magazine articles and books which clarify the meanings of the terms, which indicate their implications and suggest their applications. Their name is legion. The world will forget them before or very soon after they leave it, but that is not to deny their usefulness. Then, too, there are retailers among us. These are the rank and file—the classroom performers, the platform lecturers, and the practitioners by example. How many first-rate wholesalers and class-A retailers can we count in our profession? The correct answer corresponds to the exact number who thoroughly understand the various social theories of democracy and who believe in the ideal to the point of personal profession and practice of that ideal.

Question Number 2. *What contributions have schools and colleges made to democracy through their own organization and administration?* It seems proper in this connection to omit references to the schools and colleges of other countries. The "glass house" idea

is reason enough. Are American schools and colleges democratically organized and administered? Anyone with only a casual knowledge of the history of education knows they are not. He knows they have their roots in theories of aristocracy, not of democracy. He knows that their organizational pattern is comparable to that of government, industry, church, and army. Administrative policy is predetermined by the organizational pattern. The variations in administration are due to the personal equation, not to differences in pattern. A kindly administrator who also believes in the essential values of human rights will deal beneficently with his fellow workers and perform his duties as democratically as the structure under which he operates will permit him. He must overcome the handicaps imposed upon him by the system. How many administrators of this kind have we in our schools and colleges? A tyrannical administrator, on the other hand, finds the organizational pattern made to order for his purposes. He doesn't even need to be bothered by staff officers; he may rely entirely on line officers. The system favors the tyrant.

This characterization is supported by the investigational and protest functions of such organizations as the American Federation of Teachers through its local unions, the American Association of University Professors, and the Education Committee of the Civil Liberties Union; by the existence of numerous committees on academic freedom; by records of court action related to countless administrative matters; by protective legislation; and by endless struggle in behalf of the rank and file in our profession. To cite one instance in this struggle—recently a resolution was introduced before the New York City Board of Education granting the right of teachers to join any professional organization of their choice. Is further comment necessary?

Question Number 3. *What are some of the factors that retard the contributions of schools and colleges to the cause of democracy?* It would seem a *sine qua non* for schools and colleges to practice democracy so long as they preach it. Thus far it has been a *non sequitur*. Why is this? Practical answers have been suggested in the discussions of the foregoing questions, such as lack of understanding as to the meanings of democracy



The Trouble with Democracy

Thomas Mann

THE TROUBLE WITH DEMOCRACY is that it has such an extensive meaning—so extensive as to become sometimes completely vague. It is like breathing. You don't think about the air as long as there is no shortage of oxygen. You may fill the sphere of democratic thought with your most excessive desires, with the result that you end in a flat denial of democracy.

We have witnessed dictators claiming to be the true executors of the democratic will: and "execution" indeed it was! We never have had the pleasure of meeting a democratic statesman who openly dared to avow his predilection for Fascist methods. The resurrected Diogenes, with his lantern, would detect nothing but democrats today.

The trouble with democracy is its passion for suicide. Take, for instance, the freedom of speech, which is a

corner stone of all democratic constitutions. How about a speech advocating the abrogation of free speech? Such a speaker always can rely upon some upright democrats who will protect him against any threat to his liberty.

The trouble with democracy is, namely, that it is an optimistic creed. Like education, democracy respects humanity. It is our baser instincts that feel so grossly flattered by the Fascist belief in the irrevocable baseness of human nature. Paradoxical as it may seem, many people experience the most romantic thrill if they behave as "realists"—as cynics who believe in nothing but force and fear. It is their own fear which makes them so boisterously heroic. The iron men of our dictatorial times are ironically the mouthpieces of cowardice. Their *via triumphalis* is the way of least resistance.

Reprinted from the December, 1938, *New Jersey Teacher*, published by the New Jersey State Federation of Teachers.

and their implications in group life, and undemocratic organization which is the framework that limits democratic administration. These answers do not satisfy. We can substitute understanding for lack of it. We are still free in America to change the structure of our institutions. We have complete liberty internally to modify the structure and consequent practices of our schools and colleges; or to discard them and establish new ones in their stead. The fundamental answer probably lies in human nature. We may assume, may we not, that educators are human, that they possess qualities of virtue and vice as do others of the human race, and are on the whole no better and no worse than any other large population group. Logically the psychologists should discuss human nature in its many and complex aspects, but we needn't know that much about it to venture a pertinent observation.

As human beings we dread, dislike, or fear the new and strange. Hence our resistance to change. We enjoy comfort, ease, and pleasantness. Hence our reluctance to displace long established habits. It is easier to float downstream or just to float than it is to swim against tide or current. All this is commonplace. The important point to be raised is our unwillingness to share responsibility. There is always the easy temptation to assume all of it or to leave all of it to someone else. Aye, that is the crux of the matter. Of course we want our rights, our freedoms, our liberty. In fact we have come to expect them. The plain truth

is we must constantly pay a price for them. That price in a democratic society is shared responsibility. It is a matter of values. We must be willing individually to carry our share of the responsibility for becoming an informed professional group with special reference to the meanings of democracy and their implications in theory and practice. We must be willing individually to share responsibility for the organization and administration of our schools and colleges. Individual human rights and responsibilities are the Siamese twins of a free people. If one, through neglect or disease, dies, the other also dies. This is one basic answer to our third question. It is an inescapable one.

Our schools and colleges are staffed with administrators, supervisors, instructional and special service officers. We should work together democratically as a unitary whole. If each of us has the will so to do, and if each of us resolves to work together democratically and approaches the task of reconstruction in the spirit of good will, the democratization of our schools and colleges is as good as accomplished. Patience and tolerance are the blood brothers of good will, and the will to do is the prophet of insight and wisdom. By our future conduct as individual members of our great profession we will classify ourselves as non-democratic, undemocratic, anti-democratic, or democratic. Let us never lose sight of the essential elements of the proposition. Our schools and colleges should by example as well as by precept lead the way.

Among the New Books

I BROADCAST THE CRISIS, by H. V. KALTENBORN.
New York: Random House. 359 pages. \$2.00.

THE TRUTH ABOUT MUNICH, by JOHANNES STEEL.
New York: Universal Distributors. \$0.50.

WAR BETWEEN THE PRESS AND RADIO was officially declared in April, 1931, when the American Newspaper Publishers Association passed a resolution to fight its new rival and most serious contender for advertising money. The decisive battle, and perhaps the whole war, probably ended on the night of September 30, 1938, when Kaltenborn, broadcasting on the Columbia network, concluded his story of how the self-styled democratic leaders, Chamberlain and Daladier, had destroyed Czechoslovak democracy, how a certain kind of peace had been achieved, another brutal and frightening period of "normality" ushered into being in Europe.

Radio had mobilized for a world war in September; and from the tenth of that month until its last day, the world listened breathlessly, millions of people fearful that life or death depended on the decision of "statesmen," few if any then knowing that the greatest betrayal and the greatest hoax in the history of the world was being perpetrated by their dictatorial or elected leaders. For the people the danger was real. (Even today the vast majority does not know it was hoaxed.) At no time in history therefore was the necessity for news so important, and while it may be said that the press did as good and even a better job than it had ever done, it is generally admitted that radio did its greatest job, and in doing it came of age and incidentally defeated the press. By that I do not mean that it replaced the press, or that it will ever be able to do so, but it took first place in this great crisis and did it so well that it will now be relied upon in the future.

Kaltenborn's book, *I Broadcast the Crisis*, therefore has a double value. It is first of all a living story of the crisis as it happened, simply but thrillingly told, a historical document of the first order, saved from the nothingness of the air. It is also the record of probably the finest individual achievement in the history of radio, the extemporaneous, tense, immediate yet intelligent interpretation of history in the making for millions who actually heard history being made but did not grasp all or any of its meaning. The real story of the betrayal was told much later, but Kaltenborn immediately declared Munich a victory for the dictators and deplored the fact that powerful Soviet Russia had been ostracized by the self-styled democracies.

Kaltenborn gives much credit to his colleagues—Shirer, Murrow, Hindus, and others—who of course deserve it. There were also rivals who did a great job, notably Quincy Howe, Leland Stowe, Bryce Oliver, and Johannes Steel, who interpreted the news, and unusually good broadcasts by commentators such as Lowell Thomas who talk rather than

interpret. Johannes Steel's broadcasts have also been published, and should also be preserved as a historical record. Mr. Steel was permitted by WMCA to express himself as severely as he liked; he did not hesitate to excoriate and flay instead of criticize. On June 16 he said, "there is not going to be any war in Europe this summer because Great Britain has this wonderful Chamberlain plan of appeasing the aggressor nations by making concessions to them." On September 19 he said, "England and France have betrayed the democratic Republic of Czechoslovakia." All of Mr. Steel's expressed skepticism about the good faith of the "democratic" statesmen, as well as his hatred of the dictators, was justified by events.

The success of all radio commentators vis-à-vis the "free" press and the victory of radio over the newspapers raise new questions for the intelligent public. What would happen to both means of communication if the crisis were in America, or if it concerned American participation in a war? Is the radio generally more reliable than the newspaper? What should be our future attitude to foreign news in the press and over the ether?

I cannot answer all these questions here, but it was obvious in the radio reports of the war crisis that the American broadcasters in "free" countries such as France and England really sent the news to us, whereas the broadcasters in their own countries were prevented from doing a thorough job, and that our men in dictator lands also did well and showed up the German and Italian broadcasts as composed chiefly of lies, propaganda, and bluff. For the moment it appears as though our broadcasters in dictator lands speak freely whereas our newspaper correspondents are either censored or fear-stricken.

I also got the impression that our broadcasters abroad were fair and American, whereas it is obvious from our newspapers, and notably from the *New York Times*, that many



correspondents are unfair, reactionary, and even Fascist propagandists. The French general strike, for example, showed us more recently how unreliable are the reports in a large part of our press sent by either foreigners working for American newspapers or American reactionaries who refuse to cable any news except official government views.

Sooner or later, it cannot be doubted, England and France, as well as the dictatorships, will censor our broadcasters as well as our journalists. I know of no way by which we will be able to get our news quickly and honestly in the future. But those who realize how important the truthful presentation of world news is for the survival of democracy and civilization can help in these ways: by encouraging the radio stations and newspapers which give us Kaltenborns instead of Boake Carters and Mowrers instead of Carneys; by protest to radio stations and the press whenever we find the news perverted; and finally by support of the liberal weeklies and other publications which eventually publish the news and views which all the reactionaries and all the censors of the world are forever trying to suppress.

GEORGE SELDES

★ ★ ★

LET FREEDOM RING! 13 Scripts by HAROLD G. CALHOUN and DOROTHY CALHOUN; Lesson Aids by ROY W. HATCH; Production Notes by PHILIP H. COHEN; Music Notes by RUDOLPH SCHRAMM; Edited by HARRY A. JAGER. Washington: United States Department of the Interior, Office of Education, Bulletin 1937, No. 32. 380 pages. \$0.60.

ALERT TEACHERS OF THE SOCIAL STUDIES who have been making extensive use of radio programs as basic materials for learning will welcome this volume which makes available in more permanent form the significant series of broadcasts on the Bill of Rights. Originally broadcast over a coast-to-coast network of the Columbia Broadcasting System in the spring of 1937, these programs became "must" listening for students and teachers alike in hundreds of schools. Dramatically they presented man's unending struggle to win and safeguard civil liberties. Now they can again be utilized for reading, for discussion, or for re-enactment by school dramatic groups and radio workshops. The production and music notes included in the volume should make it possible for amateur groups to produce the series creditably.

The material in the scripts deserves the highest praise. Produced by the Department of the Interior, Office of Education, as a part of the Federal Radio Project, the series was the outcome of extensive research. The scripts themselves were written by Harold G. Calhoun and Dorothy Calhoun, edited by project script directors, and checked and approved for historical accuracy by Ben Arneson, head of the department of political science, American University, and Herbert Wright, head of the department of politics, Catholic University. Thousands of man hours of work went into the final production of each script. The gripping dramatic narratives which were the product of this extensive effort can now be utilized by any teachers of high-



school social studies or by the director of dramatics.

The weakest part of the volume is that which ought to have been made the most helpful, namely, the lesson aids. This consists of a brief introduction by Professor Hatch dwelling upon the historical importance of civil liberties and giving practically no help in the use of the material, a bibliography which is concerned almost entirely with the historical background of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, and two to three pages of lesson aids for each of the thirteen scripts. These helps follow closely a mechanized scheme which is presented in the introduction: that one first needs facts, then one must utilize them in thinking, and finally one will acquire desirable attitudes. Hence the aids are divided into three groups: (1) Activities, which in reality read like the typical "exercises" in a traditional textbook but are assumed to lead the student to collect the necessary informational background; (2) Discussion and Debate, which is only a series of "thought questions"; (3) Watch the Spot! which consists of three to five "memory gems" and takes one back to Sunday-school days. There seems to be little recognition of the fact that to be functional, information has to be acquired in relationship to actual use or that attitudes grow from participation in realistic experiences.

The most fundamental criticism of the study helps is their lack of concern with present-day problems. The scripts themselves are pointed in terms of contemporary problems involving civil rights, and each program becomes a jumping-off place for a vital discussion of infringement of liberties today. The aids, however, plunge the student into the historical background to the almost complete neglect of any application of his learning to the modern world in which he is living. In addition, the activities suggested are almost entirely verbal, and no attempt is made to encourage first-hand study of the local community and its problems of civil liberties.

The bibliography is good as far as it goes, but reference to such radio programs as "America's Town Meeting of the Air," the "People's Platform," and news broadcasts should certainly not have been omitted in a study document which grew out of a series of radio programs. Similarly there is

no attempt to help the student to use newspapers, magazines, or motion pictures in studying the critical problems of civil rights today. It is unfortunate that someone better acquainted with the use of modern aids to learning could not have aided in preparation of a volume containing such excellent radio materials.

As source materials for the study of those rights which distinguish democracies from dictatorships, this book is excellent. Every high-school student in America should hear the series either on the radio or from recordings. In book form it should be available to every student for reading.

Special mention should be made of the price. Sixty cents is relatively little for such authentic and motivating material, and the cost brings it within reach of any teacher who may wish to use the material for discussion in a course in modern problems or American history.

No better project for a high-school dramatic group or radio workshop could be suggested than producing the series for their schoolmates or the general public. A correlated project with the social studies would make possible extensive discussion and investigation following the presentation of each program. The importance of this in these critical times cannot be over-emphasized.

Ohio State University

I. KEITH TYLER

★ ★ ★

RESIDENTIAL QUARTER, by LOUIS ARAGON. Translated by HAAKON M. CHEVALIER. New York: Harcourt Brace. 505 pages. \$2.50.

Residential Quarter is a vivid story of the disintegration of the family under the influence of the confusion and conflict that prevail today in French society generally. It is the second of a series of novels in which Aragon, following the dominant tendency of French fiction, intends to recount the recent history of social change in his own country. But this novel fortunately avoids the excess of enthusiasm and simplification which marred *The Bells of Basle*. It is of a richness and evenness of texture that recalls Malraux. And its translation by a prominent member of the Berkeley, California, local of the Teachers Union is another example of that fidelity to the spirit of the original which has made Professor Chevalier one of our most trustworthy interpreters of French fiction.

In this novel one walks the streets of the little provincial town of Sérannie like a well-informed resident who is free from prejudicial relationships. For the life in the mayor's family, when you come to know it, is woven into the whole fabric of the town's life; its prostitutes, its professionals, the chocolate manufacturer, and his workers are all in their several ways involved in the election of Dr. Barbentane as mayor. But it is from the point of view of the generation which is growing up that affairs are generally presented. Restless youths, whether rich or poor, rub elbows in a casual intimacy that is promoted alike by their years and their period. Among them the two upon which the novel fixes its attention are the sons of the mayor. The town educates these youths quite as much through its own lax sexual

standards and the cynical opportunism of its social code as by any formal schooling, and sends them forth to their contrasting destinies.

Later Dr. Barbentane's sons meet in Paris, where the elder is a medical student forced to befriend his brother who has been expelled from school. But Edmond becomes attached to a girl who is a modern version of Nana, and after desperate losses at gambling degenerates into her gigolo, while the outcast younger son, after experiencing the poverty of Parisian streets, gets a job in an automobile factory. Thus the two grow apart, and the novel ends with the reader impatient to resume their story in a sequel. But he has already gained more knowledge of the disturbances in French society than any scientific analysis could give. And he feels his information is trustworthy and unbiased, in refreshing contrast to the subjective hallucinations of a Céline or the frivolous cynicism of a Jules Romains.

New York University

EDWIN BERRY BURGUM

★ ★ ★

MAN'S HOPE, by ANDRÉ MALRAUX. Translated by STUART GILBERT and ALASTAIR MACDONALD. New York: Random House. 511 pages. \$2.50.

WITH THE PUBLICATION OF *Man's Fate*, André Malraux had solved the problem of making the novel of mass movements interesting to readers long accustomed to psychological novels in which highly individualized characters were in conflict chiefly with themselves. In this novel of the Chiang Kai-Shek Revolution of 1926 in China, Malraux used several highly individualized and complex characters as conditioned by and symbolic of the motives and desires of a people fighting for human dignity.

In his new book, *Man's Hope*, written while Malraux was fighting as a flyer for Loyalist Spain, we have, again, a new type of novel. Twenty or more characters appear and disappear in this book—all of them leaders of groups of Spanish people or characteristic of certain typically Spanish ways of facing life. Most of these characters are clearly identifiable as real revolutionary leaders. But the actual hero of the book is a unified Spanish people fighting for the future of civilization, for "man's hope" in equality and freedom. The leading characters define, to be sure, the political, religious, and social philosophies of these people: Puig, a Barcelona anarchist, killed early in the war, Captain Hernandez, in command at Toledo and executed there, Colonel Ximenes, commander of the Barcelona Civil Guards and fighting with and training the communist, Manuel, and the philosophical Magnina disciplining an army he fears may destroy the type of freedom he desires—these are just a few of the characters. Yet every one of these men is drawn with great acuteness, with the novelist's amazing penetration of human psychology. Far more than any character, however, one remembers the brilliantly written scenes of dramatic action, sometimes with a leading character in the foreground, sometimes crowded merely with people, sometimes enacted by a single nameless man. And out of this matrix of scenes of men facing death humorously, defiantly, with contem-

plation, comes the sure sense of the drama of a whole people exerting its will to change society.

Malraux's theory of fiction is that history is today our best fiction, that the novelist does better to publish his diary-like account as a novel than as journalism. Man in action is the novelist. His work is to recapture while they are enacted before his very eyes the scenes of violence, of pity, of horror, and of dignity. He is a great dramatic novelist and an economic one. No one who reads this book will forget the lone firefighter turning his hose defiantly against the guns killing him, or Hernandez waiting to be executed and watching the men ahead of him, lining up, three by three, as if to have their pictures taken by the firing squad. One will not easily get out of one's memory the blind flyer, or the rushing death car which stopped the first attack. Yet gentler human scenes are quite as numerous. Fascists are given cigarettes by the communists; the cigarette, indeed, is a symbol, almost, of the Spanish people. The whole book is written under fire and one feels as if one were under fire while reading it. But, with Malraux, the reader is in the airplane as it sails clear of the fight into the blue rainbow-lit moonlight. Altogether, reading *Man's Hope* is an experience both in understanding the Spanish Civil War and, more important, in understanding the new trend of the novel today and the scope and mass movement and clarification of action it can give in knife-like sketches of a single man's or a group's behavior.

New York University

EDA LOU WALTON

★ ★ ★

CENTERVILLE, by PAUL R. HANNA, GENEVIEVE ANDERSON and WILLIAM S. GRAY. Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company. 288 pages. \$0.92.

IN THE GREAT STREAM OF NEW BOOKS for the elementary school there appear many readers designed to help children understand the world about them. There are realistic stories of child life in the family, school, and community in most modern schoolbooks, whether they are called science, or safety, or social-studies readers. So strong is the emphasis on realism that many children and teachers grow bored with mediocre stories of everyday life and turn with delight to fanciful tales, folklore, poetry, historical stories, and adventurous episodes. In fiction teachers and pupils find relief from the humdrum accounts of the Jones family and the day-to-day routine of stories on smug suburban life.

Centerville is different, not merely because it depicts a rural community, but because that community is the dynamic organism, the chief character, and the real hero of the book. The boys and girls, the housewives and workingmen, the animals and plants, even the roads and buildings in Centerville are not important except in their relation to the whole community. The plot of the book is woven from problems of trade, taxation, education, and government. Thus sociology and economics and civics become meaningful to children of eight to twelve years in the elementary school.

Unfortunately the book does not touch one of the basic relations in American life which requires special attention

today because of race antagonisms here and abroad. Centerville seems to be a homogeneous community with no Negro or foreign groups. A similar delimitation of population characterized the excellent children's book on a Negro community in the rural South which appeared last year and is parallel to *Centerville* at many points. *Country Life Stories* by Canon and Whiting (Dutton) is likewise a sound book on social studies, well written, beautifully illustrated, and interesting to adults as well as children. It is regrettable that both books evade the problem of mixed population, characteristic of most American communities in greater or less degree.

Schoolbooks are important in the modern program, not as substitutes for teacher leadership or pupil activity, but as valuable aids to instruction and as sources of information. In recent years thoughtful teachers have been on the watch for books which are significant in content, attractive in presentation, and suitable to a variety of needs in the elementary curriculum. Books which distort truth or withhold facts are avoided.

Reading is on the increase in modern schools, because children actually show more power of comprehension and greater eagerness to explore books themselves for the sake of finding facts or enjoying literature. Scientific study of reading techniques has provided effective methods of teaching children to read. Publishers of school and trade books have issued hundreds of volumes that fit the school programs and the interests of boys and girls reasonably well.

The great lack is not in books at present, but in provisions for distribution. Schools have too few of the better books for children. Public libraries do not reach half the population of this country. Family libraries are meager or lacking. Is publishing too costly or are library budgets too small? Why teach children to read unless they may feed their hunger for books and magazines on the finest publications which flow from the presses of this country annually?

New York University

BERYL PARKER



The Teachers Union in Action

ONE OF THE MOST ENCOURAGING REPORTS this month comes from the Cambridge Union of University Teachers, which states that Local 431 now has a membership of 125, an increase over last year of approximately 100 members. New locals reported chartered this month by the national office are as follows:

- No. 605 Chester County Federation of Federal Teachers, W. Chester, Pa.
- No. 606 Teachers Union of Antioch College and Yellow Springs, Ohio.
- No. 607 Peninsula Teachers Union, Hampton, Va.
- No. 608 Cornell Chapter, Ithaca, N. Y.
- No. 609 Erie County Teachers Union, Buffalo, N. Y.
- No. 610 Glendale-Burbank Federation of Teachers, Burbank, Calif.
- No. 611 Fisk Teachers' Association, Nashville, Tenn.
- No. 612 Kitsap County Federal Teachers Union, Bremerton, Wash.
- No. 613 Luzerne Township Federation of Teachers, Uniontown, Pa.
- No. 614 Delaware County W. P. A. Teachers Local, Delaware County, Pa.

★
BUFFALO, N. Y. (No. 377)—At the December meeting the Union decided "to oppose the retroactive application of any Federal Tax upon employees of the states and their instrumentalities." At the same meeting, Reuel Denney, young Buffalo poet whose work has appeared in the *Nation*, *Poetry*, and other journals, gave a reading of some of his more recent work. The proposed merger with the Industrial Teachers Union was also discussed at the December meeting.

★
DES MOINES, IOWA (No. 600)—Objectives of the newly-organized Teachers Union, according to President Verne Horty, are the "improvement of teaching conditions in Des Moines, better teacher-pupil relationship, and closer relationship between the teachers and the public." During the coming session of the legislature, the Union hopes to sponsor a teacher tenure law and a satisfactory teacher annuity law.

Local 600 is meeting twice monthly in the West junior high school and hopes to include a majority of the Des Moines teachers within a short time. Other officers are Nathan Weeks, vice president, and Ruth Hooks, secretary.

Speaking before the Des Moines Trades and Labor Assembly with which the local Union is affiliated, visiting Union member J. J. Souter (Local 511, Gary, Ind.) said:

"The idea that teachers should not be members of labor unions has been outmoded. Why shouldn't we associate with union

labor? Do we not teach your youngsters, and who would be more interested in the affairs of the teachers and schools than the parents themselves?"

Mr. Souter urged the local unions to give all possible support to the Teachers Union.

★
BIRMINGHAM, ALA. (No. 563)—Schools in Birmingham may close five weeks short of a full term according to an announcement made by the Board of Education. Teachers who organized the Union last spring thus find themselves faced with another financial emergency. After affiliating with the Birmingham Trades Council, the Union was able to secure the aid of its Committee on Education in the passing of two bond issues. Local 563 is working with the Alabama Education Association for the passage of the following laws by the state legislature: minimum eight-month school term for the state, uniform teacher retirement plan, uniform tenure plan, and capital outlay for cities.

★
PALO ALTO, CALIF. (No. 442)—Three A. F. of T. members were elected to office in the California elections and only a lack of funds prevented the election of Anga Bjornson, state legislative chairman of the Union. Proposals for the legislative program include a free teacher employment office, strengthening and extending the state tenure act, and increasing sick-leave provisions.

★
ATLANTA, GA. (No. 89)—Mrs. Mary Jones Hughie, Fulton County teacher, was ordered restored to her teaching position and back salary paid as the result of a court decision involving the local tenure law. The Fulton County rule against married teachers was interpreted as a violation of the tenure law. The Atlanta school budget shows a surplus of \$100,000. It is expected that the surplus will be needed for the 1939 budget law because of the absence of the special tax levy for relief in which the schools shared.

The thirty-third anniversary of the founding of the Atlanta Public School Teachers Association was celebrated with a dinner on December 9 at which President Ira Jarrell, George Googe, Southern representative of the American Federation of Labor, Allie Mann, national vice president of the A. F. of T., E. S. Cook, president of the Board of Education, Superintendent W. A. Sutton, and Mayor William B. Hartsfield spoke.

Greetings to the members of Local 89 were extended by telegram from President Jerome Davis, President William Green, Congressman Robert Ramspeck, and Jerome Jones, editor of the *Atlanta Journal of Labor*. George Googe stressed the importance of federal aid in his talk to the 300 teachers. "A government that can extend hundreds of millions of dollars in aid to the states for highway building," Googe declared, "certainly ought to be able to extend aid on a similar basis to the schools of America." Miss Mann stressed the success of the Union in sponsoring legislation in the General Assembly of Georgia.

The December issue of the *Atlanta Teacher* reprints Dean E. O. Melby's article from the *Chicago Union Teacher*.

Professor Canning in the *News Letter* warns the Union that the recent victory over anti-labor Proposition No. 1 was narrowly achieved and that only the repudiation by the farmers of the Associated Farmers' leadership made the victory possible. Employers of the state are still trying to maneuver some sort of a law which will hinder organized labor.

The Committee on the Duties and Economic Status of Assistants at Stanford, headed by Dr. Ernest Hilgard, reported at the last meeting of the Union.

★
NORTHAMPTON, MASS. (No. 230)—On December 14 the Western Massachusetts Teachers Federation, which includes faculty members from Amherst College, Smith College, and Mt. Holyoke College, held a supper and open membership meeting. Arnold Schukotoff, chairman, National Academic Freedom Committee, spoke on "The A. F. of T.—Professional Association and Trade Union." Professor Newton Arvin, author of the recently-published *Whitman* and president of Local 230, was toastmaster of the evening.

★
THE NEW JERSEY STATE FEDERATION OF TEACHERS—The *New Jersey Teacher*, a four-page tabloid-size newspaper, is being published monthly by the Teachers Unions of New Jersey. The December issue reports the "educational creed" of Assemblyman Samuel Ferster which he gave at a meeting sponsored by the Essex County Federation of Teachers. The same issue carries good articles on the educational

issues facing the teachers of New Jersey, an analysis of the recent State Teachers Association convention, and the latest information on the Cole-Kriser tenure case which is now before the State Supreme Court. Herbert H. Cole is president of the State Federation of Teachers. The same issue carries editorials against the sales tax and on the November elections, pointing out that Samuel Ferster, endorsed by Labor's Non-Partisan League, the State Federation of Teachers, and the Newark Teachers Association, led the Republican ticket.

★

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF. (No. 61)—The following rule was adopted by the local Board of Education at its meeting on September 14, 1937, and is reprinted from the *San Francisco Public Schools Bulletin* of January 3, 1939:

Rule No. 74c: Membership in Professional Organizations:

1. Teachers and all other employees of the Board of Education shall have complete freedom in selecting the professional organizations which they may wish to join, without coercion of any kind from any administrative officer or other school employee.
2. Whatever courtesies are extended to any teacher organization in the schools shall be fully and unreservedly extended to all teacher organizations.
3. The use of any coercion or pressure by any principal or other administrative officer or other school employee to influence any teacher to join or refrain from joining any organization shall be deemed to be unprofessional conduct.
4. The Superintendent of Schools shall call attention to this rule at the beginning of each school term by means of a notice in the Superintendent's Bulletin.

The A. F. of T. essay contest was brought to the attention of the Board of Education by the Hon. Daniel C. Murphy, chairman of the education committee of the San Francisco Labor Council and member of the state Board of Education. The contest was endorsed by the Board of Education, high-school students were urged to participate, and a notice of the contest was printed on the front page of the *Public Schools Bulletin*.

★

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN. (No. 238)—The Minneapolis Federation of Men Teachers has submitted the following stand to the Board of Education on the proposed cuts in salaries: "that full salaries be paid for the first half of the tax year" because "the Board has reason to anticipate legislative relief in the present session of the state legislature and no reduction should take place until it is definitely established that sufficient funds are not forthcoming."

JOINT COUNCIL OF TEACHERS UNIONS OF ERIE COUNTY—In one of the most rousing educational meetings ever held in Buffalo, the officials of the New York Federation of Labor, the New York State Federation of Teachers, and other organizations discussed problems confronting American education. The meeting, held under the Joint Council of Teachers Unions of Erie County, met on December 24 in the Statler Hotel.

Assemblyman Harold B. Ehrlich urged teachers to develop a "propaganda campaign" to win the friendship of the people. "People do not understand your problems," he said, "and it is your fault." He pointed out that teachers must establish a program committee to bring their problems to the people. In closing, Assemblyman Ehrlich warned, "Don't be as far removed from the people as you have been in the past."

Charles J. Hendley, national vice president, pointed out to the group that the two main enemies of federal aid to schools were budget commissions and privileged economic groups. George Sturges, secretary of the Buffalo Federation of Labor, brought a promise of cooperation and help for teachers from organized labor. He also suggested the inclusion of courses in labor history and labor problems in the curriculum. Other speakers at the meeting were Mrs. Betty Hawley, vice president of the New York State Federation of Labor, and Dr. Bella V. Dodd, legislative representative of the Teachers Unions, who gave the 12-point legislative program for the state.

Under present budget estimates, cuts averaging 10 per cent for all Minneapolis school employees will be necessary.

Officers for the coming year have been nominated by the Union and an election will be held at the coming meeting.

★

INDIANAPOLIS, IND. (No. 581)—Irvin R. Kuenzli, national secretary-treasurer, Carl H. Mullen, and Milo Burgess spoke at an open meeting of the Teachers Union to which all the teachers of Indianapolis were invited. The six-month-old Union is concentrating its work on classroom health conditions and hopes to make it unlawful to build future classrooms which do not have a relative humidity of at least 40 per cent and a light index of at least 20 foot candles.

★

KENOSHA, WIS. (No. 557)—More than fifty Union and non-Union teachers attended the December meeting of the Board of Education which considered salary adjustments. L. R. Wolfe of the Union made a very fine opening presentation of the case which was ably supported by J. C. Chapel of the Kenosha Education Association. The Union is now listed by the Wisconsin Labor Relations Board.

The Union charges that the *Kenosha News* distorted a letter which was sent to the Board of Education dealing with the question of adjusting salaries. When the Union appealed to the newspaper for a correction, the story was run the following day with a headline, "Teachers Again Ask Increases." *Kenosha Labor*, however, with its 11,000 circulation provides the Union with an avenue of publicity which counteracts the daily press. The December 16 issue carried three stories on the work of Local 557, including a front page announcement that Mrs. Roosevelt would judge the A. F. of T. prize contest. The contest announcement was also

carried in the *Kenews*, which is published by the Kenosha high school.

★

BOULDER, COLO. (No. 562)—The *Colorado Teacher*, published by the University of Colorado local of the A. F. of T., lists six points which it feels should be taken into consideration in choosing a successor to President Norlin. The new president should be (1) a scholar, (2) aware of social trends, (3) liberal, (4) democratic, (5) able to interpret the university to the people, and (6) a leader in university policy.

A special meeting of the Union was held during December at which Dr. Harold Chapman Brown, national vice-president, spoke. A branch of the American Civil Liberties Union is being formed in Boulder, and "The People of the Cumberland," a labor film, was shown recently at one of the churches.

The Union is planning a Labor Day to be held on the campus some time this spring. A special petition calling for unity in the labor movement was sent to President William Green recently. Also being organized on the campus is a union for library workers.

★

CLEVELAND, OHIO (No. 279)—Walter G. O'Donnell, social-studies teacher at John Marshall high school, has been named chairman of the committee to study the proposal to establish a free junior college which is now before the Board of Education.

Under the heading, "Cleveland Papers Close Columns to Friends of Public Schools," *The Cleveland Teacher*, published by Local 279, charges that "in several cases letters friendly to the schools were not printed at all, or were blue-penciled liberally." The article points out that even letters written by members of the Cleveland Board of Education (labor-controlled) are censored. Other interesting articles in the four-page newspaper are "An Open Letter of Congressman Martin Dies" and articles by National Vice-President M. J. Eck on the local chamber of commerce and general organization in Ohio.

On the Labor Front

LAST AUGUST THE WALDMERE Furniture Company, employing 17 men, suddenly moved from its New York shop to Allentown, Pa., without any notice to its employees. All of the workers were members of the United Furniture Workers of America, C.I.O.

In Allentown, the company signed an agreement with the Upholsterers' International Union, A. F. of L., providing for wages below the New York scale. Representatives of the C.I.O. local came from New York, and the Central Labor Union, A. F. of L., ordered an investigation. The A. F. of L. local subsequently voted to repudiate its contract, and on the morning following the action not a single man reported for work.

In a few days operations of the plant were resumed in New York and a new contract was signed with the C.I.O. local, providing for wage increases and a 35-hour work week.

INCENSED BY RECENT NAZI outrages and the threat of Fascism in America, organized labor, together with other liberal forces in America, is uniting in a boycott of Germany.

Leading in the fight against Hitler are the country's celebrities of the stage and screen, most of whom are members of the Screen Actors Guild, an A. F. of L. affiliate, the Screen Writers Guild, and the Screen Directors Guild.

Recently Hollywood stars launched a nationwide drive for several million signatures to a Declaration of Democratic Independence, which calls upon President Roosevelt and Congress to establish a complete economic embargo against Germany. The declaration, patterned upon the document of 1776, was originally signed by 56 Hollywood stars, the number corresponding to that of the early American signers.

"Today a new tyranny has arisen to challenge democracy's heritage," the declaration says. "We accuse the leaders of Nazi Germany as a ruler was accused in 1776 of a design to reduce the world under absolute despotism." Among the signers are Melvyn Douglas, Walter Wanger, Myrna Loy, Claudette Colbert, Groucho Marx, Joan Bennett, Joan Crawford, Robert Montgomery, Don Ameche, Edward G. Robinson, Paul Muni, Ben Hecht, Dick Powell, and Harry M. Warner. Other supporters included Dorothy Parker, Sylvia Sydney, Frances Farmer, Dashiell Hammett, and Jules Garfield.

Another cinema star, Charlie Chaplin, was one of the central figures in Hitler's recent outburst against Secretary Ickes. The Nazis fabricated the story that Ickes was

backing Chaplin in the production of a film called "The Dictator," which they contended was a direct affront to Hitler. Chaplin denied the charge and announced that his studio was proceeding with plans for the new film, a film which he says will deal with "the efforts of an oppressed people to express themselves while throttled under the heel of dictatorship." Chaplin's films are already banned in Italy and Germany.

Boycotting of German goods as a means of ending Nazi violence was urged by Robert Brady, vice president of Consumers Union. Brady, associate professor of economics at the University of California, warned consumers that "parades and the written word help, but the sinews of war are economic, and every dollar, every penny spent on German-made goods is a 'ja' vote for the Nazis."

Others who support the boycott program include William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor; Louis Merrill, president of the United Office and Professional Workers of America, C.I.O.; Donald Ogden Stewart, scenario writer; and Gov. Culbert L. Olson of California.

At a dinner given to launch the Leon Blum colony of 1,000 Jewish refugees in Palestine, William Green put organized labor squarely in the front ranks of those who are protesting in every way possible against persecutions in Germany. In a move to aid German refugees, 30,000 New York members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, C.I.O., voted to donate a day's pay for persecuted Catholics, Jews, and Protestants. The contribution is expected to total \$250,000.

The position of the Nazis and Fascists toward science was denounced in a manifesto issued by 1,300 scientists meeting in New York City, who called on their colleagues everywhere to defend the principle that "democracy alone can conserve intellectual freedom."

The manifesto was issued by a committee headed by Professor Franz Boas, professor emeritus of Columbia University, a member of the American Federation of Teachers, at the annual convention of the American Association for the Advancement of

Science. The noted anthropologist is a former president of the Association.

WITH A LIBERAL GOVERNOR in office in California, leadership for a united labor movement is coming from A. F. of L., C.I.O., and independent locals in many cities. Already labor unity councils have been formed in Stockton and Sacramento, while one is underway in Santa Maria.

Elsewhere in the country, as in Arkansas and Colorado, organized labor is moving toward a united front. In Canada, too, unions are fighting for peace.



In Stockton fifty locals, representing the A. F. of L., C.I.O., and the Railroad Brotherhood, formed the San Joaquin United Labor Council. The Council set up a three-point program calling for immediate action, providing for a resolution calling on President Roosevelt to appoint a fact-finding board to bring about national labor unity; declared unqualified opposition to all anti-labor legislation; and took steps to bring all locals in the county into the Council.

More than 200 representatives of all branches of unionism, including the Workers Alliance, met in Sacramento, the capital city, and organized the Sacramento District Labor Unity Council.

Speakers at the meeting pointed out that the recent attempt to destroy the organized labor movement in California by the introduction of an anti-union proposition during the November elections had taught unions the need for peace and unity.

Said Ray T. Coughlin, Sacramento city councilman and guest speaker, "You have an opportunity in this state to be the first to come forth with a united effort in which the rest of the state and the nation as a whole will ultimately join. Here in California a million dollars was spent in an effort to divide labor, but here labor united in the face of such opposition and came out victorious."

In Colorado, the Pueblo Trades and Labor Assembly went on record with a resolution calling for harmony in the labor movement. Presenting a solid front, farmers and unionists in Arkansas set up a Farm-Labor Council on New Year's Day, representing 25,000 members of the A. F. of L., C.I.O., railroad



unions, the Arkansas Farmers' Union, and the Arkansas Grange.

The Council drafted a state and national legislative program, designed to benefit farmers and industrial workers; chose a legislative committee to carry on contact work with the state legislature; and elected a permanent

AS THE NLRB SEES IT

"A unified labor movement would be in a stronger position to enjoy the rights protected by the National Labor Relations Act, and the Board is therefore gratified to note that there are signs that before another year has passed disunity in the American labor movement may be a thing of the past."

*Excerpt from the
third annual report,
National Labor Relations Board.*

ten-member executive committee. The Council also affirmed its objections to any changes in the Wagner Act and endorsed the national wage-and-hour law.

Organized labor in Canada, through the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, reaffirmed its position in a statement by Vice President D. W. Morrison. The Congress, he said, would continue to represent all branches of labor. The Congress recently opposed any action to divide the labor movement in Canada.

* * *

AMERICAN WORKING PEOPLE

are not receiving adequate medical care, A. F. of L. President William Green declared in an address before the National Health Conference held in Washington, D. C.

Good medical care is a luxury, he said, far beyond the ability of the 87 per cent of families with incomes under \$3,000 to obtain, while families with incomes below \$1,000 must rely upon public service to safeguard their health. President Green advocated increased activities of the U. S. Public Health Service, more hospitals, especially for maternal and juvenile care, and an enlargement of workmen's compensation to include compensation to workers' families for time lost.

Citing figures of the National Health Survey by the U. S. Public Health Service, Green said that approximately six million persons are unable to work each day because of illness, resulting in a financial loss of approximately one billion dollars annually.

In an attempt to improve the health level of the country, especially among workers in the lower economic brackets, progressive physicians continue their campaign for the establishment of group medicine. A test case now before the federal courts, involving the Group Health Association, a health co-operative of government employees in Washington, D. C., may determine the fate of organized medicine

in America. In the case the United States Government charges the District Medical Society and the American Medical Association with violation of the anti-trust laws. Since the establishment of the Group Health Association, capital doctors on the staff have been barred from the use of local hospitals, through pressure by the A.M.A.

A statement by the department of justice issued in connection with the case says in part:

"In spite of great technical proficiency, the medical profession has not been successful in furnishing adequate medical care to all the American people at a cost they can afford to pay.

"Forty million persons with incomes less than \$800 cannot pay the costs of necessary medical care and do not receive it when they need it. Half the present deaths of mothers in childbirth and of infants in the first month of life are preventable if they had proper pre-natal care and medical attention at delivery. The infant mortality in families of less than \$500 a year income is five times greater than in families with incomes of \$3,000 or more.

"Cooperative health associations are primarily aimed to help families not on relief. Theirs is the most pressing medical problem today because they have no public funds and will not go on charity."

Backed by 800 leading physicians of the country, many of them members of the A.M.A., President Roosevelt's \$50,000,000 health program is expected to be presented to Congress at its current session. The program was outlined by the National Health Conference called last summer by Josephine Roche, head of the U. S. Public Health Service.

* * *

LABOR'S DRIVE IN THE 1938-39

war on infantile paralysis is expected to set a new high record, according to Chester M. Wright, director of labor organizations for the campaign. Labor's goal this year has been set at \$100,000.

The drive is sponsored annually by the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, which is headed by President Roosevelt.

Pointing out the need for supporting the drive, Chairman Wright said that paralysis strikes in the homes of workers more than 90 per cent of the time.

* * *

LABOR AND AGRICULTURE, BY

joining forces, can defeat any attempt of Fascist encroachment in America, M. W. Thatcher, manager of the Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association, recently told a militant group of 1,500 delegates at the annual convention of the North Dakota Farmers Union.

"The fate of Czechoslovakia should serve as a warning to every country where the principles of democracy and the philosophy of cooperation are held dear," he said. "We

believe we must build more rapidly and more firmly an educational system that will safeguard democracy and its practical application.

"Agricultural income based upon a fair exchange price for agricultural products is a prerequisite to the reorganization of industry and the reemployment of labor at fair wages. Fair wages to labor represent a great market for agricultural products. Agriculture can cooperate with organized labor only upon a reciprocal basis of interest."

* * *

MORE THAN FOUR MILLION

persons are sharing in the distribution of winter clothing by the Works Progress Administration as a result of the \$15,750,000 purchase of manufacturers' excess inventories.

Already more than a million coats, suits and dresses have been distributed to destitute families, and additional shipments are being made from central warehouses in New York and Chicago at the rate of 100,000 garments per day. Distribution is being made in co-operation with state and local welfare bodies. All of the garments are new and have been thoroughly inspected for quality by expert clothing handlers.

Total purchases included 3,385,000 units of men's and boys' wear, and 3,165,000 units of women's and children's wear.

* * *

THE PIONEER TOBACCO

Workers Industrial Union, C. I. O., has placed the products of the P. Lorillard Company on their "unfair to labor" list.

Because of the company's refusal to bargain collectively with the union, members of the local have been conducting a strike against the Middletown, Ohio, plant since last October. Before that time the Labor Board had officially certified the union as the collective bargaining representative for the workers in the plant. During the strike, executives of the company in New York succeeded in getting Gov. Martin L.

NLRB RECORD

The third annual report of the NLRB showed that in 41 of the 12,632 cases handled during the past fiscal year there was substantial disagreement on the appropriate bargaining unit. Of the 41 cases, 21 were decided by adopting the A. F. of L. contention and 16 were decided in favor of the C.I.O. In 4 cases the contentions of both groups were accepted in part.

Davey to send out state militia in an effort to smash the strikers' picket lines around the plant.

Products of the Lorillard Company include Old Gold and Sensation cigarettes; Briggs, Union Leader, and Ripple smoking tobaccos; Beechnut, Bagpipe, and Havana Blossom chewing tobaccos, and Muriel and Rock Ford cigars.

THE CONTRIBUTORS

ELMER A. BENSON is former governor of Minnesota and a member of the Farmer-Labor party there.

WILLIAM E. BULL is chairman of the People's Culture Committee of the Madison Local 223.

EDWIN BERRY BURGUM is president of Local 537, the New York College Teachers Union.

JEROME DAVIS is president of the American Federation of Teachers. NED H. DEARBORN is dean of the Division of General Education of New York University.

PHILIP F. LA FOLLETTE is former governor of Wisconsin.

THOMAS MANN is a member of the Department of Humanities at Princeton University and author of *The Coming Victory of Democracy*.

LAWRENCE MARTIN is a member of Local 460 and teaches in the School of Journalism at Northwestern University.

BERYL PARKER is associate professor of education at New York University.

LEON H. RANSOM is a member of the law faculty at Howard University and of the legal staff of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

MAX SEHAM is an M.D. and a member of Local 444, the Minnesota Federation of College Teachers.

GEORGE SELDES is author of *You Can't Do That* and, more recently, *Lords of the Press*.

I. KEITH TYLER is chairman of the national Radio Committee of the American Federation of Teachers and a member of Local 438, Columbus, Ohio.

JERRY VOORHIS is a member of the American Federation of Teachers and has just been reelected congressman from California.

EDA LOU WALTON is a member of the English Department at New York University.

In order that the *AMERICAN TEACHER* may serve as a medium for the discussion of the educational problems of today, the contributors are not necessarily expressing the policies of the American Federation of Teachers.

The AMERICAN TEACHER

Official Organ of

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

506 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois

Organized April 15, 1916

Affiliated with The American Federation of Labor

Editor, GEORGE T. GUERNSEY

Consulting Editor, KERMIT EBY

Editorial Board

MARY J. HERRICK
GEORGE E. AXTELL

MERCEDES L. NELSON
IRVIN R. KUENZLI

President
JEROME DAVIS

Secretary-Treasurer
IRVIN R. KUENZLI

Vice-Presidents

GEORGE E. AXTELL
HAROLD CHAPMAN BROWN
JOHN D. CONNORS
MICHAEL J. ECK
ARTHUR ELDER
MRS. MARY FOLEY GROSSMAN
C. J. HENDLEY

MARY J. HERRICK
LILA A. HUNTER
ALLIE B. MANN
MERCEDES L. NELSON
PAUL W. PREISLER
JOEL SEIDMAN
STANTON E. SMITH

DOXEY A. WILKERSON

WHAT EVERY WELL INFORMED TEACHER SHOULD KNOW

The How and Why of the A. F. of T.

The following publications answer in convenient form questions concerning the aims and organization of the American Federation of Teachers. They are well suited for distribution to prospective members. Samples will be sent on request.

1. Information about the A. F. T. 25c per hundred
2. Six Major Purposes 25c per hundred
3. Can Teachers Unions Be Called Out On Strike? 25c per hundred
4. Why I Am a Member of the Teachers Union 35c per hundred
5. Six Reasons for Joining the A. F. T. (Jerome Davis) 25c per hundred
6. Questions and Answers 35c per hundred
7. The Historical Setting of the A. F. T. (Ruth Gillette Hardy) 35c per hundred
8. Why I Am Glad to Be a Member of the A. F. T. (Goodwin Watson) 35c per hundred
9. The Constitution of the A. F. T. (Correct as of Oct. 1, 1937) \$2.00 per hundred
10. A Program of Action for Classroom Teachers \$2.00 per hundred
11. A Critical Evaluation of the A. F. T. (Aileen W. Robinson) 50c per copy
12. Accomplishments of the A. F. T. 60c per hundred
13. Teachers Should Organize (Frank Baker) \$2.00 per hundred
14. A Golden Opportunity (Irvin R. Kuenzli) \$2.00 per hundred
15. Facts \$2.00 per hundred
16. Organized Labor and the Public Schools (Irvin R. Kuenzli) 75c per hundred
17. Power—Participation and Union Organization (Elmer A. Benson) 50c per hundred
18. A Challenge to Class-Room Teachers (Blotter) \$1.00 per hundred
19. The National Union of Teachers of England (Elsie V. Parker) \$1.00 per hundred

ORDER BY NUMBER FROM

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

506 SOUTH WABASH AVENUE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

LEGISLATIVE ACTION FOR JANUARY

FEDERAL AID

All locals are urged through their Legislative Committees to carry out all or as many as possible of the following plans for the month of January:

1. Study the new bill, copies of which will be sent you as soon as Congress convenes. Discuss it in your committee and at your membership meetings.
2. Send out literature to all your members on Federal Aid.
3. Present the bill to your Central Labor Union for approval and ask for permission to send speakers on the bill to the various affiliated unions.
4. Whatever speeches you make to local union groups, or to parent groups, make mention of the Federal Aid Bill and, if possible, get their approval.
5. Report to the National Legislative Representative, Mrs. Mary Foley Grossman, 2302 Delancey Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, all resolutions adopted or actions taken on behalf of the bill.

There will be additional plans for further action for February so that we urge you to center on the points above for this month.

STATE LEGISLATION

We urge you to center on the matter of tenure legislation for the coming year. There are two reasons for this action:

1. The trend toward adoption of tenure legislation throughout the country, which makes for favorable opportunities this year.
2. The rising threat to job security and particularly to women teachers, both married and single. Your National Legislative Representative has received many alarming communications from various states indicating this trend. On the matter of married women teachers, I quote from a letter received from President William Green of the American Federation of Labor: "To my mind nothing would be more unjust or undesirable than to follow a fixed policy of discrimination against employment of women based upon marital status. In the appointment of teachers decisions should be based upon personal fitness for the job and other considerations secondary."

Salary schedules and certification laws are also important for consideration.

MARY FOLEY GROSSMAN
National Legislative Representative